FOR FEAR OF THE MULTITUDES:

DISRUPTIVE PILGRIMS AND APPROPRIATE AUDIENCES FOR CISTERCIAN RELICS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

By

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Abstract

This thesis argues that the Cistercians created a distinctive aesthetic relating to relics in the twelfth century by seeking to restrict the disruptive presence of pilgrims who might introduce an unwelcome element of worldliness and distraction into the cloister. Relics functioned as pegs for corporate memory in internally-focused story-telling, such as exempla collections, but less as attractions for pilgrimage. Compared to contemporary cults managed by other monastic orders, the Cistercian cults limited the dispersal of contact relics and emphasised the role of Cistercian miracle recipients and visionaries in texts. This Cistercian aesthetic had social consequences. Eschewing the promotion of lay pilgrimage to their monasteries, the Order used its aura of exclusivity to attract powerful patrons, and managed their access through limited *ad sanctos* burials. The importance of audience in the presentation of Cistercian relics and miracles will be demonstrated through a range of sources; hagiography, exempla collections, letter collections, and statutes. It will be shown that the presentation of the miraculous represents an underutilised source for the conceptualisation of Cistercian identity and spirituality in the twelfth century.

Dedication

For Granny,

Who would have been so happy to see this finished,

And Jesse,

Whose encouragement has meant more than she knows.

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Contents

Abbreviations

CC	*Carta Caritatis*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966-).
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSQ	*Cistercian Studies Quarterly*
DM	*Dialogus Miraculorum*
EC	*Exordium Cistercii*
EM	*Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*
EO	*Ecclesiastica Officia*
EP	*Exordium Parvum*
LVMC	*Liber visionem et miraculorum Clarevallensium*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
NLT	C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux* (Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et documenta 9, Cîteaux, 1999).
OV	Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, comp.* J. P. Migne, 217 vols. and 4 vols. of indexes (Paris, 1844-64).
RHGF	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*
SBO	*Sancti Bernardi Opera 8 Vols,* (eds.) J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1957-1977).
STATUTA	J.M. Canivez. *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 annum 1786* (8 volumes) (Louvain, 1933-41).
US	*Usus Conversorum*
VP	*Vita Prima S. Bernardi*

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Introduction

> For if, due to an increase in miracles, an intolerably large multitude would continue to gather, monastic discipline would be destroyed by the unruly nature of such crowds, and this place would slacken in the zeal of its holy piety.[1]

When Conrad of Eberbach described the abbot of Cîteaux's concerns about the crowds of pilgrims drawn to Bernard of Clairvaux's funeral, he was drawing on an established trope in Cistercian writing. The *Exordium Magnum* (c.1190-1210) was an exempla collection comprised of stories relating mostly to Clairvaux and her daughter houses. The description of the funeral, which took place at Clairvaux in 1153, continued to state that 'after consultations, he [the abbot of Cîteaux] reverently approached [Bernard's body] and forbade it on the basis of the virtue of obedience to perform any further miracles.'[2]

The suggestion that posthumous miracles would draw pilgrims and disrupt the peace of the cloister appears fitting with Cistercian ideals of removal from the world. The miracles the abbot sought to restrict were curative miracles performed on lay pilgrims, whose presence would be distracting to daily life in the monastery. These concerns abound in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts originating from within the Order, where the place and presentation of posthumous miracles and visions suggest a demarcation between the cult as presented to the brethren and to outsiders. The regular accounts of the prohibition of posthumous miracles to prevent a surge in pilgrimage to tombs, demonstrate a concern with the audience for saints'

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[1] '*Considerans tantam importunitatem tumultantis populi et ex praesentibus future conicens vehementer timere coepit, ne, si crebrescentibus signis tam intolerabilis illuc populorum turba concurretet, earum improbitate disciplina periret ordinis et sanctae religionis feruor in eodem loco tepesceret'* B. Griesser, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de Initio Cisterciensis Ordinis* (Rome, 1961) volume 2, pp. 116-117. Translation from *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux: A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order. The Exordium Magnum of Conrad of Eberbach* Trans. B. Ward and P. Savage, (ed.) E. R. Elder) (Collegeville, MN, 2012), Book 2, Ch. 20. A detailed discussion of this incident can be found in Chapter 2.

[2] Ibid, pp. 116-117. '*Quapropter habita super hoc deliberation reverenter accedens per virtutem obedientiae, ne signa ulterius faceret, inhibuit.'*

cults, a desire to minimise disruption in the cloister, and reflect the emphasis the Order placed on obedience and humility.

The posthumous miracles of saints were important in establishing their sanctity in the developing papal canonisation procedures in the twelfth century. They also established the saint as an effective intercessor in the minds of the laity. Major shrines recorded curative and punishment miracles with a view to publicising the power of their saint, to raise money for new reliquaries or building schemes, or to provide reading material for feast days and sermons. The public aspect of these stories is evident in the descriptions of the crowds of lay people present at the shrine to celebrate the cure. The twelfth-century miracle collection for St Erkenwald for example, included stories related to the construction of a new, more ornate, reliquary, including the punishment of a man disinclined to contribute funds.[3]

Despite the benefits pilgrimage could bring to a monastic institution, Cistercian communities often sounded a note of caution. This unease about lay access to their monasteries was indicative of the broader distinction the Order enforced between the audiences for their cults, preferring to limit outside incursion and focus on the role of saints' cults within their communities. Where Benedictine collections of *miracula* employed visions of the saints to encourage visits to the shrine (before or after a cure was effected), the visions in Cistercian hagiography were less interested in the place of the tomb. The recipients were likely to be members of the community, for whom the vision was a source of reassurance. The location of the miracle appears to have been less important.

In this thesis I will argue that in the first 150 years of their history, the Cistercians carefully curated the boundaries of their Order compared to other monastic groups. These borders were reinforced everyday though text and practice, and their differences understood by external

[3] E. G. Whatley, *The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald. Text and translation* (Binghampton, NY, 1989), pp.142-144.

observers. This was manifested in the distinctive Cistercian mode for approaching and utilising relics, evident in the management of St Bernard and St Malachy's cults at Clairvaux, the presentation of posthumous miracles and visions in Cistercian hagiography and exempla collections, and statutes from the General Chapter. This Cistercian attitude to relics and pilgrimage had social consequences. Eschewing the promotion of lay pilgrimage to their monasteries, the Order used its aura of exclusivity to attract powerful patrons, and managed their access through limited *ad sanctos* burials.

The importance of audience in the presentation of Cistercian relics and miracles will be demonstrated through a range of sources: hagiography, exempla collections, letters, and statutes. It will be shown that the presentation of the miraculous represents an underutilised source for the conceptualisation of Cistercian identity and spirituality in the twelfth century. While in the 1950s Walter Daniel's *vita Aelredi* was criticised for lacking 'special interest or originality',[4] this thesis will argue there was something innovative in the presentation of Cistercian sanctity and the miraculous. The decision to separate chapters based on their main source material was taken to demonstrate the similarity of the themes that appear in each, and to make the material more navigable. The holistic approach of this thesis allows for a more nuanced exploration of the role of relics, and access to them, in the development of Cistercian identity from the establishment of the Order to c.1250.

The Cistercian attitude to relics and pilgrimage in the twelfth century is consistent with the isolationist rhetoric in the Order's foundation documents. While it has been established that the claims to have founded monasteries on deserted land were exaggerated,[5] the ever-present statement that Cîteaux was founded in *locus horroris et vastae solitudinis* illustrates the

[4] Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall*, (ed.) F.M. Powicke (London, 1950) p. lxxvi.
[5] See for example C. H. Berman, 'Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians. A Study of Forty-Three Monasteries', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 76, 5 (1986), pp. 1-179.

Cistercian mind-set of foundations in an ideal wilderness.[6] There were repeated references to monastic foundations occurring in desolate places, far from habitation. Early statutes and regulations restricted the possible locations for Cistercian abbeys,[7] and foundation narratives often employed stories about the poverty of the early monks, and described incidents in which food was miraculously provided.[8]

The later *Dialogue between Two Monks* described the difference between the self-image of the Cistercians and the Cluniacs through its use of the terms solitary, contemplative, and active. The Cluniac says 'just as your order is active, because with Martha it chooses righteous labour for itself, so our order is contemplative because with Mary it has chosen holy leisure for itself'. The Cistercian replied that in contrast to the Cluniac monasteries near towns and villages, the Cistercians could more properly be described as 'solitaries and contemplatives'.[9] These idealised descriptions of Cistercian isolation and land development led to erroneous theories about the Cistercian contribution to medieval economic growth, in which members of the Order were pioneers on the frontier.[10] Even if we accept that these comments about the remoteness of new foundations as propaganda, their repeated invocations is still interesting. The Order was anxious to justify its privileges and forestall its critics, and so curated an image that stressed fidelity to the monastic Rule and separation from the world.

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[6] This is a reference to Deuteronomy 32.10.
[7] *Exordium Cistercii*, in C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux* (*Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et documenta* 9, Cîteaux, 1999), p. 400. See also B. P. McGuire, 'Bernard's concept of a Cistercian Order: Vocabulary and Context', *Citeaux: Commentarii cistercienses*, 54, 3-4 (2003) pp. 225-49.
[8] See for example B. M. Kienzle, 'The Tract on the Conversion of Pons of Leras and the True Account of the Beginning of the Monastery of Silvanes', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 30, 3 (1995), pp. 219-44. J. Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx* (York, 2006).
[9] Idung of Prufening, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: The Case for Cîteaux. A Dialogue between Two Monks, An Argument on Four Questions* (ed.) J O'Sullivan and J. Leahry (Kalamazoo, MI, 1977). Discussed in G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 53.
[10] J. W. Thompson, *The Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1928, repr. 1951), p. 611, M. Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, trans, J. Sondheimer (Berkeley, CA, 1970), pp. 14-15, G. Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Community,* trans. H. B. Clarke (Ithaca, NY, 1974), pp. 219-20.

The foundation of the Order defined the new group in opposition to existing monastic institutions. In 1098 Abbot Robert and a group of monks from Molesme founded Cîteaux in the woods south of Dijon. Dissatisfied with life in their previous monastery, they sought to follow the Rule of St Benedict more strictly, imposing liturgical poverty. When Robert was ordered to return to Molesme by Pope Urban II, the monks elected Alberic (d.1108), then Stephen Harding (c.1060-1134) as abbot. Bernard of Clairvaux (c.1090-1153) arrived in c.1112 along with 30 of his family and friends, reinvigorating the community. His conversion is often described as a turning point in the Order's history. Bernard's charisma and zeal, along with the influx of new recruits, enabled the establishment of the first daughter house by 1113.[11] Bernard was also a prominent figure in contemporary debates. His extant letters show him to have been an advisor to rulers, prelates, and popes. He campaigned for Innocent II during the Papal Schism, and preached in favour of the Second Crusade.[12] The importance of Bernard's charismatic leadership on the development of the Order justifies this thesis' opening with his writing and posthumous cult.

As the Order expanded, mechanisms to ensure cohesion and uniformity developed. The early documents include the *Exordium Cistercii*, a brief narrative history of events in the Order up to 1115, the *Exordium Parvum,* which relates the history of Cîteaux, and the *Carta Caritatis*, which reduced the abbot's discretionary authority, mandating annual meetings and

[11] The first daughter houses were: La Ferte (1113), Pontigny (1114), Morimond (1115), and Clairvaux (1115).

[12] The manuscript tradition of Bernard's letters is complicated. The number of letters in the collection varies between editions; Leclerq and Rochais added letters 496-547 to Mabillon's 1690 edition (*SBO vols 7 and 8* (Rome, 1974, 1977)). 496 of the letters were translated by B.S. James in 1953. There are 496 letters in *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. S. James (Stroud, 1998). The most recent edition was compiled in Italian by Gastaldelli (1987). This version adds a new level of specificity to the dating of the letters, in some cases the month of composition. *Opere di San Bernardo*, (ed.) F. Gastaldelli (Milan, 1987).

I have checked the letters included in SBO but not translated in James 1953 edition. 32 of these letters were included in Mabillon's edition, but judged by Leclercq and Roachais to have been wrongly attributed. These are indicated with the phrase '*Non est Sancti Bernardi'*, or '*A sancto Bernardo scriptae non sunt'*. Five of the letters in SBO are duplicates; 444 is 417, 452 is 86, 453 is 413, 428 is 391, and 430 is 316. Some have been published elsewhere, such as the privilege granted by Innocent III (Letter 352, P.L. 182, 554-6), and the treatise *On Baptism* (Letter 77 translated in M. Newman and E. Steigman (eds.) *Bernard of Clairvaux, On Baptism and the Office of Bishops: On the Conduct and Office of Bishops, On Baptism and Other Questions, Two Letter-Treatises,* (Kalamzoo, MI, 2004)). Several of the letters in *SBO* are addressed to Bernard (373, 386, 388).

visitations.[13] The liturgical regulations for the Order are contained in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*,[14] the customs for lay brothers in the *Usus Conversorum*.[15] Since 2000, debate has surrounded the dates of these documents and led to a revaluation of the development of Cistercian policy.[16] Berman argued that most of these texts were written in the 1160s and 1170s in an effort to reconstruct earlier history according to current ideals and circumstances.[17] In contrast, Waddell's 1999 edition of these documents presented them as layered compositions, revised over time. Here the suggested date for the *Exordium Parvum* is 1113, and Pope Calixtus II confirmed the earliest version of the *Carta Caritatis* in 1119.[18]

This debate, and its implications, will be explored in Chapter Six. Here it is sufficient to note that while the General Chapter developed gradually from a monastic chapter in the 1150s to a legislative body in the 1190s, the more nebulous values of charity and unanimity and the sense of the Order as a way of life and common identity maintained by regular contact was present far earlier. A more gradual development of the administrative structures and the flexibility of the Order to local conditions might suggest the Chapter was more responsive to the concerns brought forward by abbots, than a vehicle for the imposition of the authority of the abbot of Cîteaux. The statutes can thus be read as records of the negotiation of consensual government and evidence of a developing Cistercian identity built around liturgical restraint and isolation.

[13] For recent editions of these texts see *NLT.*
[14] For a recent edition see *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du xii siecle*, (ed.) D. Choisselet and P. Vernet (Reinigue, 1989). A recent translation into English is available; *The Ancient Usages of the Cistercian Order* (ed.) M. Cawley (Lafayette, OR, 1998).
[15] C. Waddell*, Cistercian Lay-Brothers: Twelfth-Century Usages with Related Texts*, (Brecht, 2000), pp. 51-78 for an edition of the *Usages*, and see pp. 164-95 for an English translation.
[16] For this debate see C. H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000); C. Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C.H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources', *Cîteaux: Commentari Cistercienses,* 51 (2000) pp. 299-386; M. Newman, 'Review of The Cistercian Evolution by C. H. Berman' *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, 2 (2001) pp. 315-316.
[17] Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*.
[18] C. Holdsworth suggests that Stephen Harding wrote the entire *EP*, 'Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: A Review Article', *Cîteaux: Commentari Cisterciensis*, 51 (2000) pp. 157-166.

The Cistercians viewed their isolation and limited contact with pilgrims as a strategy of distinction. Their perception of difference was important to their sense of identity and was acknowledged by their contemporaries. As Orderic Vitalis commented, 'they especially favour the white in their habit and thereby seem remarkable and conspicuous to others'.[19] The twelfth century saw a large expansion in the number of religious orders and houses founded. The need to justify these innovations, and defend them from attack from more traditional groups, led to the creation of controversial literature. One of the most clearly organised is the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*. This twelfth-century manuscript, likely produced in north-eastern France or the Low Countries, outlines the spiritual tendencies of the new religious movements.[20] Rather than emphasising the differences between hermits, monks, and canons, the author focused on the distinctions between the 'strict, moderate, and lax' groups within each, and drew parallels with passages in both the Old and New Testaments for each calling.[21] The author thus justified the new diversity in the Church as part of God's plan. Similar arguments were made by Anselm of Havelberg in around 1149, who 'concluded that, in spite of their innovations and differences, they were all good and part of God's plan.'[22] Otto of Freising, like the author of the *Libellus*, distinguished between groups living far from and near men.[23] The awareness and acceptance of the new diversity in religious orders was also discussed by John of Salisbury, Gerald of Wales, Adam of Dryburgh, Geoffrey of Vigeois, and Robert of Torigny.[24]

There was a new focus on the individual's private relationship with God, rather than corporate and organised worship for social needs. Many of the reform movements that

[19] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980), IV, pp. 311-13 (VIII: 26).
[20] *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia* (ed.) G. Constable (Oxford, 1972), p. xvii.
[21] Ibid., p. xxii.
[22] G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 48.
[23] Ibid., p. 49.
[24] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

developed in this period emphasised a personal connection with the divine. This was manifested in changing depictions of Christ and a new focus on his human nature and suffering, and a shift away from vengeance miracles towards thaumaturgy and forgiveness in miracle collections.[25] The spirituality of the Cistercians can be examined in this context. The view that the Church was a moral body, unified but with separate branches, enabled the Cistercians to focus on the spiritual development of their monks without the responsibility of the pastoral care of laity.[26] Their identification with the humanity of Christ aligned with their emphasis on the reception of the eucharist, and the broader shift in focus away from vengeance miracles is reflected in their stories of saints and deceased brethren appearing in visions to dispense advice and encouragement. McGinn stressed that Cistercian theology, Christology and ecclesiology were both spiritual and practical.[27] There was an emphasis on lived experience and devotion to the human life of Jesus in the soul's ascent to God, and a concern about the proper application of reason to matters of faith.[28]

Scholarship on the Order has traditionally viewed the early years as a 'golden age' in which the monks implemented all of the 'ideals' for coenobitic life described in their foundation documents. This period was followed by a period of 'decline', as the Order became more involved in worldly matters, which compromised their way of life. Knowles' admiration for the early Cistercians is clear.[29] The decision of Robert to return to Molesme and tenure of Abbot Alberic are passed over quickly in his account, followed by praise for Stephen's ideals

[25] B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (University Park, PA, 1987) p. 42, 69. See also M. L. Dutton, 'Intimacy and Imitation: The Humanity of Christ in Cistercian Spirituality', in J R. Sommerfeldt (ed.) *Erudition at God's Service: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, XI* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), pp.33-69.
[26] For a more detailed discussion, see M. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, CA, 1996).
[27] B. McGinn, 'The Spiritual Teaching of the Early Cistercians' in M. B. Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 218-232.
[28] Ibid., pp. 220-221. These themes will be especially evident in the writing of Bernard of Clairvaux discussed in Chapter One, and the exempla collections explored in Chapter Four.
[29] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St Dunstan to the 4th Lateran Council 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1949), D. Knowles, 'The Cistercians from 1153 to 1216', *The Monastic Order in England 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1966), pp 348-358, especially. p. 356.

as seen in the *CC* of 1119 and original *Uses*. A separate section is devoted to the importance of Bernard; the role of Clairvaux as opposed to Cîteaux, his missionary activities and involvement with the papacy. This idea of a 'golden age' when the Cistercians were able to live according to their ideals followed by an inevitable decline as they failed to remain separate from the world is seen in Lekai's *Ideal and Reality*.[30] Both authors seem almost disappointed in the later Cistercians, and propagate a false image of early uniformity and control from the General Chapter. Lekai puts even more emphasis on Bernard's role in the development of the Order, with an entire chapter on 'St Bernard and the Expansion', and the spiritual appeal of Cîteaux.[31] This theme of decline is also present in work on the expansion in Cistercian holdings and decline of the lay brotherhood in the thirteenth century. Both were taken as evidence of the Order's increasing involvement in the secular world, and their corrupting influence.[32] More recent works have provided case studies of the development of landholdings of specific monasteries and demonstrated that economic development began from the Order's inception, and should not be read as a symptom of decline.[33] This thesis similarly begins with Bernard due to his influence on the development of the Order, but continues to place his views on the cult of saints and the management of his posthumous cult at Clairvuax in their wider twelfth-century context.

Recently scholars have highlighted the flexibility of the Order and the practical adaptations individual houses made in relation to their local contexts. Jamroziak in particular argues that we should instead focus on the structures that allowed the Cistercians to become a trans-

[30] L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians, Ideal and Reality* (Kent, OK, 1977).
[31] Ibid., pp. 33-51.
[32] C. V. Graves 'The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England', *Analecta Cisterciana* 13, (1957) pp. 3-60, R. A. Donkin, 'The Urban Property of the Cistercians in Medieval England', *Analecta Cisterciana* 15, (1959), pp. 104-31. J. S. Donnelly, *The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Lay Brotherhood* (Fordham, NY, 1949).
[33] For example, B. P. McGuire *Conflict and Continuity: A Cistercian Experience in Medieval Denmark* (Copenhagen 1976) and C. B. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, NY, 1991).

European Order able to adapt to local conditions.[34] Burton and Kerr asked what the Cistercians' concept of *ordo* meant in the 1120s, as their own sense of distinctiveness is evident in a variety of documents, which were used to transmit self-identity and encourage uniformity.[35] The extent to which the uniformity of these monasteries was real or aspirational is also questioned, as they highlight the extent to which the Cistercians idealised their own achievements and emphasised their role as inheritors of the desert tradition.[36]

There has been a paucity of research on the role relics played in Cistercian devotional practice and attitudes towards pilgrimage to the Order's shrines in the twelfth century. Work has been undertaken on specific Cistercian saints and hagiography, though the Order's position on the more public-facing aspects of their cults means there are no comparable miracle collections from individual shrines. These works have focused on particular authors, regions, or saints.[37] A large corpus of hagiography was also created at Villers. The Cistercian hagiography that originated in the Low Countries emphasises both the Cistercian devotion to the humanity of Christ and an intense interest in the eucharist, notable given the origin of the feast of Corpus Christi in Liège in the thirteenth century.[38] These regional and house-specific studies are useful for pointing out local contexts, and work on later pilgrimage to sites such as Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire provides valuable insights into later trends.[39] The connection of the Order's isolationist rhetoric to anxieties surrounding lay pilgrimage and as a marked point of difference, however, has not been thoroughly explored before.

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[34] E. Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090-1500* (London, 2013).
[35] J. E., Burton and J. Kerr (eds.) *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011). For an extended discussion of these documents, see Chapter Six.
[36] Burton and Kerr *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* pp. 54-5.
[37] See for example H. Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York, 2010), M. Cawley (ed.) *Send Me To God: The Lives of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles, Nun of La Ramee, Arnulf, Lay Brother of Villers, and Abundus, Monk of Villers, by Goswin of Bossut* (Turnhout, 2003), A. H., Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Edinburgh, 1996).
[38] See Chapter Three. For further reading on this feast, see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).
[39] N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001).

Other scholars have examined language; Bynum, for example, has discussed the pervasive maternal imagery in twelfth-century Cistercian writing.[40] In the work of Bernard of Clairvaux, Aelred of Rievaulx, Guerric of Igny, Issac of Stella, Adam of Perseigne, Helinand of Froidmont, William of Saint-Thierry (and the Benedictine Anselm of Canterbury), maternal imagery is often applied to male authority figures. Bernard applied maternal imagery to Jesus, Moses, Peter, Paul, prelates and abbots in general, and himself as abbot.[41] These references were made casually in letters, but more complex forms are seen in the sermons on the *Song of Songs*, especially where abbots are instructed to 'mother' the souls in their charge.[42] The imagery is being employed to express immediate concerns about ideas of authority needing to be supplemented with those of nurturing. Recent studies have focused on the work of individual authors. In a recent edited collection Elder provided an overview of the key writers from the eleventh to thirteenth century.[43] The extant works are liturgical sermons, homilies on the Virgin, treatises on the sacraments, and commentaries on the *Song of Songs.* The authors represent Cistercian abbeys in modern-day England, France, and Germany.[44]

As Arnold has observed, 'belief is a very elusive concept: difficult to define, difficult to describe, and hence difficult to analyse'.[45] Anthropology has provided tools for the interpretation of religious beliefs and practices. Structural–functionalist theorists such as Victor Turner argued that religion produces meaning through its structural arrangement, and that these

[40] C. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1982).
[41] Ibid., p. 115.
[42] Ibid., p. 117.These images depend upon the assumption of sexual stereotypes, 'which generally remain the same when viewed as positive or negative'. Walker-Bynum warns against separating this imagery from its context, noting the 'ambivalence of these authors (all of them abbots) about the exercise of pastoral responsibility, and hence about authority in general, and in their deep sense of the life of the cloister as cut off from the world […] the language in which they chose to describe their relationship to God expressed the particular ideals and problems of the form of religious life they practiced'. Ibid., p. 154.
[43] E. R. Elder, 'Early Cistercian Writers', in M. B. Bruun (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 199-217.
[44] The authors discussed are; Guerric of Igny (d.1157), Amadeus of Lausanne (1110-1159), Isaac of Stella (c.1100-c.1169), Gilbert of Hoyland (d.1172), Geoffrey of Auxerre (c.1120-c.1188), Baldwin of Forde (d.1190), Idung of Prugening (fl.1153-1174), John of Forde (c.1145-1214), Adam of Perseigne (d.1221), Helinand of Froidmont (c.1160-1237), Stephen of Lexington (c.1193-1260), and Stephen of Sawley (d.1252).
[45] J. H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005) p. 1.

structural patterns had a function in the production of community.[46] While this is perhaps too static a view of religion, this insight does encourage the 'reading' of religion as a cultural phenomenon. The community-building aspect is particularly important to this thesis, as the acculturation and socialisation of belief will be shown to be an important aspect of the imparting of Cistercian identity to novices. More generally the expression of religious belief can serve to create an outgroup, important for the creation of social identity.

To move beyond the 'ideal and reality' paradigm and the cult-specific studies mentioned above and build upon Jamroziak's promising argument about the flexibility of the Order's institutions, this thesis will centre materiality rather spirituality in its aim to develop new perspectives on twelfth-century Cistercian devotional practice. This will involve using objects, and attitudes towards objects, as well as texts as sources, to explore how Cistercians engaged with holy objects. This thesis will consider the social lives of these objects, how they were curated, contemplated, adored, and managed by the Order, and to what end.[47]

Hazard has outlined four main approaches to the material study of religion.[48] These are the view that material things function as symbols that can be interpreted for the religious meanings they carry,[49] an emphasis on the role of material disciplines in the formation of religion,[50] attention to the inflection of human experience and cognition,[51] and finally the rejection of a priori oppositions between subjects and objects.[52] These various approaches reflect the influence of cultural anthropology, semiotic theory, and object-oriented ontologies on the study

[46] V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 1969).
[47] A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in Appaduri (ed) *The Social Life Of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 3-63.
[48] S. Hazard, 'The Material Turn in the Study of Religion', *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* (2013), 4, pp. 58-78, p. 59.
[49] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, NY, 1978), A. Appaduri (ed) *The Social Life Of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986).
[50] T. Asad, 'Anthropological Conceptions of Religion: Reflections on Geertz', *Man*, (1978), 18, 2, pp. 237-259.
[51] D. Morgan (ed.) *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (London, 2010).
[52] B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (New York, NY, 2005), G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis, MN, 1987), A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998).

of religion. This thesis will focus on people's experience of material things and their understanding of the role of objects, because people's interactions with objects illustrate their values and fears. It will also take a broad view of what constitutes a holy object. Morgan lists religions embodied forms of practice as:

> Prayer, liturgy, and pilgrimage, their sensations of sound in corporate worship, their visual articulations of sacred writ, their creation of spaces that sculpt sound and shape living architectures of human bodies.[53]

Religion is thus much more than simply creed, as it is developed in practice with connection to holy objects and expressed through its material environment. Gayk and Malo suggested that, as sacrality is more product of use than an inherent quality, the category of sacred object could include more than relics and liturgical accoutrements.[54] Holy matter includes relics, contact and effluvial relics, sacramentals, the eucharist and other sacraments, and devotional images. As Bynum notes, these categories could overlap.[55] Monuments such as the Holy Sepulchre were viewed as reliquaries in their own right.[56] The topography of the Holy Land was interpreted through the events linked to each location, the experience of which could lead to deeper contemplation. The reactions inspired could be similar, as mediatory devices to contact the divine. The static nature of sacred places however, meant considerations about the implications of lay and monastic pilgrimage were inherent for Bernard of Clairvaux and his contemporaries.

Utilising a material religion approach to twelfth-century Cistercian cults will demonstrate both the beliefs and anxieties attached to sacred objects, as well as illustrating the role of relics

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[53] D. Morgan, 'Introduction: The Matter of Belief', in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (London, 2010) pp. 2-3.
[54] S. Gayk and R. Malo, 'The Sacred Object', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44, 3 (2014) pp. 458-467, p. 462.
[55] C. Bynum *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Late Medieval Religion* (Brooklyn, NY, 2011), p. 25.
[56] R. Ousterhout, 'Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62, 1 (2003) pp. 4-23, p. 5, 13, 18.

in the institutional reproduction of the Order. Cistercians are often described as being characterised by their emphasis on inner piety.[57] I will demonstrate that while an inner sight was required and appreciated when meditating on relics,[58] the possession of the physical objects remained important to the Cistercians, as did the regulation of access to them. Materialising religion was a strategy of social distinction. Attitudes to relics and pilgrimage had a social logic, in this case reinforcing the isolationist rhetoric present in the Order's foundation narratives and differentiating the Cistercians from their contemporaries.[59] The Order developed an identity around particular discourses about piety, charity, pilgrimage, and relics. Recurrent themes can be seen across the genres discussed in this thesis, highlighting the values indicative of Cistercian identity.

As a repository for collective social memory, the Order reproduced itself through the foundation of new abbeys and the education of novices. Social practices are reflexive and recursive, (re)creating social structures.[60] Quotidian practices communicate assumptions about social categories and values. As reflexive actors monks were able to consider their actions and identities, and develop conscious intentions. Exempla collections, with their explicit didactic function, therefore illustrate the values senior monks wished to impart.[61] The place of relics and descriptions of visions and miracles in these collections simultaneously demonstrate the importance of the connection between the communities of the living and the dead, as well as the anxieties provoked by the mistreatment of relics or disruptive pilgrims in the cloister. Through practice, novices were socialised to reproduce these ideas, and impart them later in new foundations.

[57] R. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1993, 3rd edition) pp. 221-40.
[58] See Chapter One for a discussion of this in Bernard of Clairvaux's writing.
[59] For the argument that cultural consumption is predisposed to fulfil a social function of legitimising social differences, see P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, 1984 [1979]).
[60] A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society, Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley, CA, 1984).
[61] This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Belief has an inherent connection with social, economic and political structures. There were social consequences of this materialisation of religion. The Order's restriction of access to its relics was premised on an idea of elitism, and gave rise to an aura of exclusivity. Despite the rhetoric of withdrawal from the world, the Cistercians still required patrons. In limiting pilgrimage to their abbeys, they ensured that tomb-altars and reliquaries were only visible to those with the status or confidence to negotiate access through the precinct gateway. Powerful benefactors were also able to negotiate burial *ad sanctos*.[62] This conferred desirable temporal status as well as eschatological benefits.

It is intended that the holistic approach of this thesis will redress the fragmentary research thus far undertaken into twelfth-century Cistercian devotional practice. The focus in this thesis will be on the period 1098 to c.1250. This period incorporates the nascence, expansion, and development of the Order, in terms of its legislation and administrative structure, and the creation of its own saints and exempla collections. This period also saw the formalisation of papal canonisation procedures, the impact of which is evident in the presentation of St Bernard's cult.[63] Focussing on this approximately 150-year timespan thus provides the opportunity to trace developing concepts of sanctity and access within the Order, and their implementation.

After c.1250 other factors need to be considered. The 1260s, for example, saw disputes between the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux and the creation of the Cistercian college in Paris.[64] The thirteenth century also saw changes in hagiography, a new emphasis on eye-witnessing, swifter canonisation, but also an increasing mysticism. This new mysticism included new attitudes toward the relationship between the world and the cloister, as the

[62] See Chapter Five.
[63] See Chapter Two.
[64] For the impact of the dispute on the General Chapter see Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe*, pp. 43-9. For the relationship to the foundation of the college in Paris, see pp. 240-1.

conviction that it was possible for all Christians, not just those in the religious life, to gain sanctity. Texts also increasingly took the form of a visionary recital or commentary, for example the work of the mystic of Hadewijch of Brabant. The changes in the type of saint and the expression of their experiences and sanctity impacted the linguistic strategies employed, including the increasing use of vernacular languages.[65] Overall the new mysticism of the later middle ages was accompanied by new social and gender dimensions which would have drastically changed the scope of this thesis.

The abbeys studied in this thesis are drawn from the centre of the Order, Burgundy and Angevin England, as well as more remote houses in Scotland and Saxony. Their selection was predicated on the connections between the houses. Starting with Clairvaux Abbey as the home of St Bernard and his posthumous cult, the focus of this thesis expands to encompass other houses in the Clarevellian line of filiation. The hagiographical texts included in Chapter 3 draw upon the corpus from Villers, an abbey founded in 1146 by monks from Clairvaux, and the exempla in Chapter 4 originated from Clairvaux and its German daughter house Eberbach. Melrose Abbey in Scotland was chosen for Chapter 5 due to its connection to Clairvaux through Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire. This Clarevellian focus suggests that Bernard's ideas, sermons, and cult would have been circulated and may have influenced the texts discussed here.

This range of case studies demonstrates that individual communities worked to maintain a core Cistercian identity, while adapting to local expectations. The communities in each of these areas had a range of specific conditions to adjust to. The patrons available varied, as did their priorities. Melrose Abbey in Scotland, for example, benefited from cross-border patronage and connections to the Scottish royal court.[66] The English crown's loss of Normandy in 1204 limited the support available to houses across the channel and had clear impacts on the fortunes of

[65] B. McGinn, 'The Changing Shape of Late Medieval Mysticism', *Church History* (1996), 65, 2, pp. 197-219.
[66] See Chapter Five, section 1.

Savigny.[67] In the Low Countries the Cistercians competed for influence with the new canons, Premonstratensians and beguines.[68] The communities chosen facilitate the comparison of geographic and patronal pressures on decisions related to the cult of saints, such as the access granted to lay patrons. Understanding the competition abbeys faced in different regions underscores the importance for the Cistercians of developing a monastic identity that was recognisably different to those surrounding them.

A sequential overview of each chapter will outline how the argument will proceed. Chapter One will argue that Bernard of Clairvaux distinguished between relics' utility for different groups of people. This will be demonstrated through an investigation of his management of St Malachy of Armagh's cult at Clairvaux, whose cult he instituted, as well as a comparison of his writing, for example for the Knights Templar or the monks of his Order. This will establish that Bernard was very aware of the different audiences for his works, and wary of pilgrimage and the possible disruption it would bring into the monastery. Chapter Two will further this narrative by demonstrating that the management of Bernard's posthumous cult is evidence for a distinctive Cistercian attitude to relics, which emphasized the possible disruption brought by pilgrims. The emphasis on Bernard's appearance in visions will be demonstrated in both hagiography and exempla. This will be compared to the striking absence of posthumous miracles in the canonisation letters, and the limited dispersal of contact relics connected to the cult.

The third chapter will take a broader view. Relics are empty vessels invested with cultural meaning by a community; they are useless without the context provided by hagiography.[69] The

[67] See Chapter Three, section 3.
[68] *Libellus de Diversis*, pp. xvii-xix.
[69] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NY, 1978), pp. 5-9, E. Campbell, *Medieval Saints Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 11-12. This has been taken up by the art historian Cynthia Hahn in *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning or Reliquaries, 400- circa. 1204* (Pennsylvania, PA, 2012).

relic requires an explanation, a cultural matrix, to demonstrate its significance. Hagiography then is the 'source material for the construction of typologies of sainthood'.[70] It is possible to use miracle narratives in hagiography to think about attitudes to miracles and saints' relics, as they tell us how relics were used, what sort of miracles were expected, and which recipients were favoured. A range of Cistercian texts, chosen due to the timespan represented and authors' proximity to Clairvaux, will be compared to contemporary material produced by the Benedictines, Gilbertines, and Augustinian canons, to demonstrate the very different role of visions, and centrality of pilgrimage to the tomb, as well as the range of miracle recipients. A distinctive Cistercian perspective is evident in these texts, wherein visions are prized over healing visions, and the recipients of any miracles are more often members of the order. Hagiography was used to construct and reinforce monastic identity, in this case using other monastic orders as proximate others against which the Cistercians could define themselves.

Chapter Four will draw upon the exempla collections produced by the Order in the twelfth century, and argue that these didactic texts illustrate the values the order wished to imbue in new recruits. The production of the Cistercian monk required the novices' understanding of the role holy matter played in the Order's devotional practice. There are therefore stories relating to the history of the Order and the lives of the early monks, but also a focus on the reassuring or redemptive power of visions of the saints or recently deceased brethren. As in the hagiography produced by the Cistercians in this period, the focus is firmly on members of the community as miracle recipients. The three collections chosen are chronologically distinct and allow the consideration of change in attitudes over time.

To explore the social consequences of the Order's decision to restrict access to relics, Chapter Five will discuss the treatment of monastic and lay dead, and the related considerations

[70] Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England', *Thirteenth-Century England V* (1993), pp. 37-52, p. 48.

of space and access. It will be argued that the treatment of monastic dead can be linked to the evolving perspective on the same issue in the exempla collections; the visions of deceased brethren returning to discuss the afterlife or individuals travelling to die at certain abbeys suggests an understanding of the importance of community and intercession. The requests of lay patrons for *ad sanctos* burials indicates the external perceptions of Cistercian saints. The value individual abbeys placed on their connections to important benefactors will be highlighted in the cases of competition between houses for the bones of secular founders.

The final chapter will focus on the role and workings of the General Chapter, as overriding concerns were reflected in prescriptive texts and legislation. The decision to place the statutes here rather than earlier in the thesis was taken because it presents the opportunity to take a broader look at the themes presented throughout the earlier chapters, without predetermining the contributions to be made by the hagiography or exempla. Additionally, it was felt that beginning with Bernard of Clairvaux's writings and cult, then expanding to consider other hagiographical and didactic texts presented the most logical flow, while the section of statutes presented in the fifth chapter with regards to irregular burials led more logically into the wider discussion of evidence from the General Chapter presented here.

It will be argued that the General Chapter functioned as a forum for discussion of attitudes to sacred objects and the material surroundings of the liturgy. The statutes are evidence for discussions that occurred at the Chapter. They are thus evidence of the abbots' concerns over time, relating more to liturgical restraint, decoration, and access, than relics per se. These themes are evident in the other sources discussed in this thesis. The changing nature of the statutes demonstrates the evolving administrative structure of the General Chapter and developing group identity. As well as the regulations the Chapter intended to feed back to houses throughout the Order, statutes projected an image to external audiences.

It will be concluded that the Cistercians created a distinctive aesthetic relating to relics in the twelfth century by seeking to restrict the disruptive presence of pilgrims who might introduce an unwelcome element of worldliness and distraction into the cloister. This was consistent with the isolationist rhetoric in the Order's foundation documents, which emphasised the role rejecting the world played in forging their new community. The material concerns prompted by sacred matter will here be shown to be an important aspect of the Order's identity building. In turn, these concerns were manifested in the narrative and legislative texts produced by the Order, and formed an important part of the Cistercians' collective historical memory.

Chapter One

'A mirror and an example': Bernard of Clairvaux and saints' cults

> 'Know this and tell the brethren that there is buried in the oratory the body of a saint, and I have his clothing'.[1]

After Malachy of Armagh's death on All Saints Day 1148, Bernard of Clairvaux encouraged the development of a cult at Clairvaux. The management of this cult, the presentation of St Malachy in his hagiography, and the material setting for his veneration, exemplify the distinctive Cistercian mode for approaching saints' cults. Bernard was emphatic about his respect for St Malachy, and his role as an example for monks of the Order. The audience for the cult was carefully curtailed, however, and lay pilgrimage to Clairvaux discouraged.

This chapter will argue that Bernard of Clairvaux distinguished between relics' utility for different groups of Christians. Bernard's opinions on holy objects were linked to his views on the role of sacred sites and scripture in the devotional practice of different groups of people; in his *Sermones Super Cantica Canticorum* (*Sermons on the Song of Songs*) he drew on St Paul stating that ordinary souls should be given 'milk, not meat'.[2] Bernard hoped Cistercians, however, would be capable of deeper devotion. The value of relics was thus contextual, useful for the way in which they could act as signposts for spiritual actions. Bernard's opinions on

[1] Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux,* trans. H. Costello (Kalamazoo, MI, 2015) Book 5, p. 256. PL., 185, 364-5.

[2] B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), p. 410. 1 Corinthians 3:1-2, 'And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able'. Hebrews 5:12-14 'For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil'. Throughout this chapter biblical citations will be taken from the King James Version.

their utility for monks, crusaders, Templars, or lay pilgrims, was commensurate with the spiritual character and ethos of that group.[3]

Bernard hoped Cistercian monks would be capable of deeper devotion than ordinary Christians and should not require the distraction of ornate reliquaries. Objects were vehicles for sensory experiences; through sight people could be both spiritually instructed and morally tempted. This chapter will therefore connect Bernard's attitude to relics and their containers to his writing on material goods and wealth. Bernard's awareness of the audience of his writing and his attempts to limit monastic pilgrimage will be demonstrated through an investigation of his management of St Malachy of Armagh's cult, as well as a comparison of his writing, for example for the Knights Templar or the monks of his Order.

1. The posthumous cult of St Malachy at Clairvaux

Malachy was born in 1094 and had a quick ascent through the ranks of the Irish church. Ordained as a priest in 1119, he became abbot of Bangor Abbey in 1123, and bishop of Conner and Down in 1124.[4] In 1132 he was promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh, reluctantly, according to his biographer.[5] Malachy gained a reputation for reform and improving previously lax standards. This included the adoption of Roman liturgy. After resigning the sees of Conner and Armagh, Malachy travelled to Rome in 1139. En route he stopped at Clairvaux, meeting Bernard for the first time. On his return visit he obtained five Cistercian monks for the new

[3] For the argument that value is contextual, see D. Graeber, *Towards and Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of our own Dreams* (Basingstoke, 2001), and D. Graeber, 'It is value that brings universes into being', *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 3, 2 (2013), pp. 219-243.
[4] Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Life and Death of St. Malachy the Irishman,* trans. R. T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, MI, 1978) p. 5.
[5] '*Vacabat tunc temporis episcopalis sedes, et iamdiu vacarat, Malachia nolente assentire: siquidem ipsum elegerant. Peersistentibus tamen illis, tandem aliquando cessit, accedente ad vim faciendam mandato magistri sui, necnon et metropolitani'. Vita Malachie* chapter 16, *SBO* III, p. 325.

foundation of Mellifont, established in 1142. This marked the expansion of the Order into Ireland. Stopping at Clairvaux again in 1148 he fell ill and died.

Bernard of Clairvaux's management of the cult was influenced by his desire to portray Malachy as an ideal archbishop. In the office and *vita* he composed, Bernard created a template for the Cistercians to follow in their management of other saints' cults. His personal interactions with Malachy's relics demonstrate the impact of the friendship between the men on Malachy's veneration. During the requiem mass for Malachy, Bernard kissed the feet of the corpse, and replaced the traditional prayer after communion with the collect for confessor-pontiffs.[6] Here the benefits of an attention to material religion become apparent. Bernard's actions provide a way of considering the connection between affective piety and objects, and their role in bringing together subject and object, human and non-human, through veneration. Kissing the corpse demonstrates the value Bernard placed on physical contact with the relics. This episode of close contact also illustrates how materialising religion could manifest social distinction. The funeral was attended by a limited number, and the privilege of touching Malachy's body in this intimate fashion was restricted to Bernard.

A focus on the tangible was also demonstrated by Bernard's treatment of Malachy's vestments. Geoffrey of Auxerre wrote what are now the final three books of Bernard's *Vita Prima*.[7] A story in Book Five relates an appearance by Bernard to a monk of Clairvaux after his death. To console the brethren he told the monk that 'buried in the oratory is the body of a saint, and I have his clothing'.[8] Before Malachy's burial in 1148, Bernard exchanged Malachy's tunic for his own. Gajewski noted 'Bernard guarded the bishop's vestment like a relic: he wore

[6] A. Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult and Construction of the Abbey Church at Clairvaux (Clairvaux II)' *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cisterciensis* 56 (2005) pp. 47-84, p. 54. Geoffrey of Auxurre, *Vita Prima,* PL 185, col. 333B, '*formam mutavit orationis, et collectam intulit, quae ad sanctorum pontificum celebritates, non ad commendationes defunctorum pertinent […] Deinde reverenter accedens, sacra ejus vestigial devotissime oscolabatur'.*

[7] The *Vita Prima* will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

[8] Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux,* Book 5, p. 256. PL 185, 364-5.

it on feast days and was himself buried in it'.[9] It is significant that this detail is absent from Bernard's *vita* for Malachy, where instead the death-bed blessing was emphasised:

> I [Bernard] ran to him that *the blessing of him that was ready to doe might come upon me* [Job XXIX 13]. Already he could not move his other limbs; but, mighty to give blessing, he raised his hands upon my head and blessed me. I have *inherited the blessing* [1 Pet. Iii. 9] how can I be silent about him?[10]

It is important to note the word Geoffrey uses for 'blessing' is '*benedico*' rather than '*eulogia*'.[11] The blessing is a laying on of hands or sign of approval, rather than a gift. This is consistent with the other cognates for blessing in the *vita,* where Malachy or the pope impart blessings, or during the course of a miracle. In the latter cases, Malachy's healing is described as a blessing.[12]

McGuire has suggested that the omission of the clothing exchange from the *vita Malachie* was because Bernard did not want to focus on his personal bond with the bishop, preferring instead to place Malachy in the context of a confraternal bond with the Cistercian community, and his reforming initiative.[13] The fact Malachy was buried in Bernard's tunic suggests that this was part of a personal exchange.[14] Bernard's letters to Malachy emphasise how the transfer

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[9] Geoffrey of Auxurre, *Vita Prima,* P. L., 185, col. 364-365, *'Ipsius enim tunicam, in qua sanctus ille feliciter obdormierat, ad Missarum sibi servaverat celebrationem, et moriturus in ea sese jusserat sepeliri, sicut et sanctum illum in sua sepelierat veste'.* The shrines were destroyed in 1793 and the abbey church between 1812 and 1817. A description of the altar-shrines as being made of marble survives in an 1517 account of the visit of the Queen of Sicily, published as [Anon] 'Un grande monstere au XVI siecle', *Annales archeologiques*, 3 (1845) pp. 223-258. The placement of the tomb in relation to Bernard's will be considered in Chapter Two.

[10] *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy* trans. H. J. Lawler (London, 1920), p. 4. The Latin text is taken from *Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claraevellensis Opera Omnia*, ed. L. Mabillon (1839) Vol.1, 2 Cols. [1465-1524] Reprinted *PL* 182, 1073-1118. *In extremis positus erat, imo in principiis, juxta allud: cum consummates fuerit homo, tunc incipit (Ecc.). Accurri ego, ut benediction morituri super me venire. At ille cum jam membra alia movere on posset, fortis ad dandam benedictionem, elevates sanctis minibus super caput meum, benedixit mihi, et benedictionem hereditate possideo: et quoedo ego illum silare queam?* (P.L. 1074).

[11] See F. B. Flood, 'Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Meditation and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam' in S. M. Promey (ed) *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice* (London, 2014) pp. 459-514, p. 462, for an instance of tangible *eulogiae* in the form of pilgrimage souvenirs.

[12] *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy*. See for example p. 72 and p. 74 for the pope's blessing; 'Malachy had asked for the blessing of the chief pontiff, to live and die at Clairvaux', Malachy was 'strengthened with the apostolic blessing and authority'.

[13] B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991) p. 101. See also Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult and Construction of the Abbey Church at Clairvaux', p. 62.

[14] *Vita prima* V. iii. 23, W. W. Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 302.

of personnel from Clairvaux to Cistercian houses in Ireland provided a bond between the two men, and the abbeys.[15] For example, Bernard writes that Malachy's letters were a comfort, and a show of his goodwill.[16] In two letters we can see the development of plans for the foundation of Mellifont; the men discuss the preparation of the site and the need to send monks from Clairvaux.[17]

Bernard's personal devotions included the Virgin and St Jude.[18] Veneration for the Virgin was common for the Cistercians, all abbeys in the Order were dedicated to her. Bernard was especially devout, as is evident in his language in the *Sermons on the Song of Songs* and *Homily on the Birth of the Virgin Mary*. In his treatise on the Incarnation Bernard portrayed Mary as the mediatrix of grace:

> She, I say, is that shining and brilliant star, so much needed, set in place above life's great and spacious sea, glittering with merits, all aglow with examples for our imitation.[19]

Bernard became so associated with devotion to the Virgin that later imagery often depicted the 'Lactation of St Bernard'.[20] The scene was a legend that allegedly occurred at Speyer Cathedral in 1146.

These devotions were manifested materially. Geoffrey describes Bernard as being buried 'before the altar of the Virgin' in the *Vita Prima*. A casket containing relics of Jude was sent to Bernard from Jerusalem in 1153, and Bernard requested he be buried with it, 'so that he

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[15] Letters 341 and 357 in *SBO VIII*, and *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* pp. 452-3, pp. 454-5. The relationship between Bernard and Malachy can be compared with that between Malachy and Eskil, archbishop of Lund. Here the emphasis was on the aid Eskil could give in the orders expansion. See McGuire, *The Difficult Saint* p. 107-131.
[16] Letter 383, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* pp. 452-3.
[17] Letters 383, 384, 385, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* pp. 452-5.
[18] For examples of imagery linking the Order to the Virgin, see L. Butler, 'Cistercian Abbots' Tombs and Abbey Seals', M. P. Lillich (ed) *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 4* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1983), pp. 78-8, and J. France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Cistercian Studies Series, 210, Kalamazoo, MI, 2007). The appearance of the Virgin in visions will be discussed in the following chapters.
[19] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Homily II, supra 'Missus est'*, 17, PL 183, 70, 71. Translation from Pius XII, 'Encyclical Letter, St Bernard', (Vatican, 1953), Vatican Website, *Libreria Editrice Vaticana* [Accessed 10/04/19].
[20] J. France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007).

might cleave to that apostle on the day of their common resurrection'.[21] In these relics there is an element of 'distributed personhood', a sense of self expressed by materials circulating outside the body.[22] Bernard was engaging bodily with the sacred, which was being transmitted and mediated by material.[23] If belongings and grave-goods are an extension of our personhood and indicate something about identity, it is interesting that Bernard chose to associate himself with Jude, known for protecting his purity.[24] The personal element of Bernard and Malachy's relationship could go some way to explaining his evident devotion to the bishop. The relics Bernard favoured were those which had accumulated value in their social relations, the association with Malachy making the tunic more valuable.

Bernard's letters contain references to another relic that increased in value in the act of exchange. In letter 216 to William, a monk of Tours who ruled as patriarch of Jerusalem from 1130 to 1145, Bernard expressed his gratitude for a relic of the True Cross that William had sent. Bernard's regard for relics is indicated by his reference in this letter to the True Cross as 'the treasure of all ages'.[25] In acknowledging receipt of the relic, Bernard asked William how he could reciprocate with an appropriate item, and reconciled himself to sending warm words and the possibility of future good works.[26] Though an authenticated relic of the True Cross was valuable as a devotional object, it was also valuable in terms of the relationships it could create.[27] The letter allowed Bernard to highlight his own humility, and pursue a friendship with the patriarch of Jerusalem, a powerful figure who may have been able to send further relics of the Passion.

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[21] *Vita Prima* Book V Chapter 2, p. 15, W. W. Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 302.
[22] Z. Crossland, 'Materiality and Embodiment' in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (eds.) D. Hicks and M. C. Beaudry (Oxford, 2010) pp. 386-405, p. 392. For discussions of the idea of 'partible or 'distributed personhood' see M. Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift* (Berkeley, CA, 1988) and A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998).
[23] Flood, 'Bodies and Becoming', p. 462.
[24] Z. Crossland, 'Materiality and embodiment', p. 392.
[25] Letter 216 (1130), *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 294.
[26] Letter 216 (1130), Ibid., p. 294.
[27] Graeber, *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value*, pp. 30-34, 45.

Bernard's view on the audience for miracles and relics can be explored through Malachy's cult. Despite Bernard's personal attachment to the relics of St Malachy, the *vita* does not emphasise any thaumatological properties therein or foster a sense of the miraculous around the saint's tomb. Only one posthumous healing miracle is recounted. This occurred at Malachy's funeral, when Bernard brought a boy with a withered arm up to the body, and he was healed.

> There stood some way off a boy whose arm hung by his side dead, rather burdensome to him than useful. When I discovered him I signed to him to come near, and taking his withered hand I laid it on the hand of the bishop, and it restored it to life. For in truth *the grace of healings* lived in the dead; and his hand was to the dead hand what Elisha was to the dead man. The boy *had come from far* and the hand which he brought hanging down, he carried back whole to his own country.[28]

After Malachy's death, Bernard wrote his *vita*, recounting the miracles Malachy performed during his life, but also his meekness, obedience and diligence. The *vita* presents a didactic approach to miracles; while they are impressive, their main function is to reveal the saintly character of Malachy.[29] In one episode we are told that Malachy, when 'going out of a certain church he met a man with his wife, and she could not speak. And when he was asked to have mercy on her, he stood in the gate, the people surrounding him; and gave a blessing upon her, and bade her to speak the Lord's Prayer. She said it, and the people blessed God'.[30] Bernard preferred to recount such understated miracles, or to describe his subject's virtues. Rather than focus on works of wonder, Bernard underlined the qualities and good works that could inspire similar acts in their audience. Malachy is therefore described as meek and humble, inspiring

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[28] '*Stabat eminus puer, cui emortuum pendebat a latere brachium, magis illi impedimento quam usui. Quo comperto, innui ut accederet et apprehensam aridam manum applicui ad manum episcopi, et vivificavit eam. Nempe vivebat in mortuo gratia sanitatum, et manus eius fuit mortuae manui quod mortuo homini Elisaeus. Puer ille de longw venerat, et manum quam pendentem attulerat, sanam in patriam reportavit'. Vita Malachie* chapter 31, 75, *SBO* III, p. 378. English translation from *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy*, p. 129.
[29] Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* p. 176.
[30] *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy*, p. 87.

imitation through his example during his lifetime, as Bernard hopes he will continue to do in death:

> And for a time *he sat alone*, because he had neither companion nor example; for who before Malachy even thought of attempting the most severe discipline inculcated by the man? It was held by all indeed to be wonderful, but not imitable. Malachy showed that it was imitable by the mere act of sitting and keeping silence. In a few days he had imitators not a few, stirred by his example.[31]

In letter 386 to the brethren in Ireland following Malachy's death in 1148, Bernard expressed his grief. The letter displays respect for Malachy and awareness of the benefits of possessing his remains. Bernard stated 'the Lord has highly honoured us by favouring our place with the blessed death of Malachy and enriching it with the treasure of his precious body'.[32] This language is seen again in Bernard's other writing on Malachy. In his sermon on the death of Malachy, Bernard 'hailed the death of the saintly bishop at Clairvaux as an honour (*honōrō*), and his body as a treasure (*thēsaurus*), which provided a support (*columna*) for the abbey'.[33] This language is interesting. While he argued against the use of elaborate reliquaries and presentation of relics, he described Malachy's body as a 'treasure'. Bernard himself was described as a 'vessel of noble use in the house of God, a solid vessel adorned with gold and every possible gem'.[34]

The reference to Malachy's remains as providing 'support' for the abbey conveys a related concern, how possessing the relics reshaped the architecture of Clairvaux. As was noted in the Introduction, sacred matter affected the space around it. This occurred in terms of sound and

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[31] *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy*, p. 12.
[32] Letter 386 (after November 3 1148), *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*. p. 456, Letter 375 in *SBO* VIII pp. 335-337.
[33] A. Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult and Construction of the Abbey Church at Clairvaux', p. 60. Similar language can also be seen in John of Forde's Life of Wulfric of Haselbury. The relics of the anchorite are described as 'sacred treasure' (*sacro thesauro*), 'sacred bundle' (*sacram glebam*) and 'holy and precious treasure' (*sacrum et pretiosum theasurum*). See *De vita beati Wulrici* (ed.) M. Bell (London, 1933) pp. 128-9.
[34] Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux* trans. H. Costello (Kalamazoo, MI, 2015) p. 32. Drawing on 2 Timothy 2:21, 'If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work'.

ritual through the performance of the office, and the physical space itself. In the years following Malachy's burial the abbey church at Clairvaux was rebuilt in successive phases. The rebuilding centred around the tombs of St Malachy of Armagh and St Bernard of Clairvaux and presented the abbey as the new centre of reformed monasticism, designed around an ideal bishop and an ideal monk. The relationship between these cults will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Overall, the cult had a clearly demarked audience. In the *vita* and office Bernard encouraged his brethren to view Malachy as the exemplary archbishop whose good deeds could be imitated. While Bernard personally valued contact with the relics, he did not encourage monastic pilgrimage to Clairvaux, or disperse the relics to other houses in the Order. There is only one posthumous healing miracle in the *vita*, reinforcing the impression that Bernard was reluctant to portray Malachy as a thaumaturge. Taken together, both the liturgical and material veneration of Malachy was directed towards the monks of the Order rather than lay pilgrims.

2. Beyond 'mere outward appearance': Relics as a starting point for deeper devotion

The place of miracles and relics in St Malachy's cult can be explained via Bernard of Clairvaux's thoughts on the role of relics for different groups of Christians. He demonstrated the distinctions he saw between different groups of Christians, monks, crusaders, Templars, and the moral responsibilities of each station, in his restricted application of the phrase *imitatio Christi*, and condemnation of monks who left their cloisters without permission to go on pilgrimage.

Morris argued that Bernard of Clairvaux's understanding of 2 Corinthians 5:16, 'Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ

after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more',[35] is key to appreciating the value of relics for different people at different stages in their spiritual journeys. Bernard and his Cistercian contemporaries understood this passage through a patristic lens, though in their interpretation went further than SS Ambrose, Augustine and John Cassian.[36] Morris explained 'to know Christ after the flesh' could be understood as 'to know Christ on the Cross' or to 'have a beginner's understanding of Christ'.[37] This has clear links to Bernard's emphasis on the importance of humility in approaching Christ and God, in addition to taking an interior view of miracles. In Sermon 31 on the *Song of Songs*, Bernard stated 'the most important sort of vision is the kind we have of God within ourselves, which is a by-product of meditation'.[38] This vision 'within ourselves' extended to an inner, spiritual, view of miracles, something Bernard and other Cistercian writers emphasised for the monks of their Order.

Bernard's use of 2 Corinthians 5:16 indicates a 'desire to lead people from the contemplation of the Cross to a more spiritual religion'.[39] This was reflected in his understanding of humility as self-knowledge, and demonstrated in *De laude novae militae.* This text was written between 1120 and 1136, and addressed to Hugh of Payens, the founder and first Master of the Templars.[40] Bernard states in the text that Hugh had written three times asking for an exhortation for his knights, and this was his response. Such an *exhortio* was necessary in the context of the 1120s, when doubts were being voiced about the theological justifications and propriety of monks being devoted to military combat.[41]

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[35] *Itaque nos ex hoc neminem nouimus secundum carnem; ei si cognouimous secundum carnem Christum, sed nuc iam non nouimus*.
[36] C. Morris, 'Christ after the Flesh, 2 Corinthians 5:16 in the Fathers and in the Middle Ages', *The Ampleforth Journal,* 80 (1975), pp. 44-51, p. 49.
[37] Ibid., p. 44.
[38] Sermon 31: 223, 2-3, Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 442.
[39] Morris, 'Christ after the Flesh', p. 46.
[40] 1120 was the year the Order was founded, 1136 the year Payens died.
[41] Isaac of L'Etolie labelled the new knighthood a novum *monstrum.* This view was shared by Henry of Huntingdon, who described a 'new monster composed from purity and corruption'. See T. Mastnak, *Crusading Peace, Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, CA, 2002) p. 155.

Sacred spaces could function as the starting point for deeper devotion. The sites of the Holy Land were useful for engaging with the life of Christ, but Bernard wanted to encourage deeper spiritual development.[42] *De laude* demonstrates how he intended this to work in the devotional lives of the Templars. Bernard praised the order's disregard of rank, an ideal which fit with his understanding of self-knowledge; rank was no indicator of virtue.[43] He highlighted their humility, discipline and obedience, in contrast to the pride of the secular knights.[44] Importantly, the Templars 'arm themselves not with gold, but with faith'.[45] Bernard stated though primarily for the spiritual development of the Templars, he also wrote 'for the benefit or castigation of our knighthood, which soldiers certainly not for God, but for the devil'.[46]

The first five chapters discuss the symptoms of spiritual error in knightly practice, with the Templars offered as a better example.[47] The second half considers the following sites in turn: Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the River Jordan, Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, Bethpage, and Bethany.[48] Carlson emphasised the significance of the order in which Bernard chose to discuss these sites. They are not treated in order geographically, but 'in approximate order of the major events of Christ's life'.[49] Purkis argued that in meditating on the spiritual significance of each site in turn, Bernard aimed to encourage the Templars 'to go beyond the physical'.[50] These sites were efficacious because they were 'permanent and unchanging'.[51] In discussing each of these sites in the manner of sacred

[42] M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 44.
[43] Ibid., p. 45, Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 135. 'Rank is scarcely recognised among them, they give pride of place to betters, not the more nobly born', *persona inter eos minime acipitur: defertur meliori, non nobiliori SBO III*, 219.22-20.24.
[44] Barber, *The New Knighthood* p. 60, Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 135, 'discipline is not wanting and obedience is never distained' *Disciplina non deest, obedientia nequaquam contemnitur*.
[45] Barber, *The New Knighthood* p. 45.
[46] Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 137 *ad imitationem seu confusionem nostrorum militium, no plane Deo, sed diabolum militantium SBO III,* 4.7, 219.19-20
[47] Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 138.
[48] W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187*, (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.108-109.
[49] Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of St Bernard', pp. 138-9.
[50] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 109.
[51] Ousterhout, 'Architecture as Relic', p. 4.

exegesis, Bernard wished to explain their inner meaning, and help the Templars beyond 'mere outward appearance'.[52] In the passage on the Holy Sepulchre, for example, Bernard connected the sight of the place to a contemplation to Christ's life and death, and associated this to Christ's death for man's sins.[53] Both Bernard and Peter the Venerable stressed the importance of the physical safety of the Holy Sepulchre in their crusade preaching,[54] but the building's spiritual significance was preeminent. Peter urged his hearers to themselves 'be Christ's sepulchre'.[55]

The ideal of the imitation of Christ was a related theme. In his sixty-third *sermone de diversis*, Bernard said 'to follow Christ was to imitate his passion'.[56] Peter the Venerable wrote to Bernard saying that, 'Christ surely said that all whom He calls should follow Him. Remember the Gospels, and you will find this almost everywhere. From our teachers we receive 'to follow' in place of 'to imitate''.[57] In the *De laude* the Templars were offered a version of *imitatio Christi* that suited the needs of knighthood and chivalry. Bernard stressed that the Templars did not fear death in the manner of secular knights. In his meditations on the sites of the Holy Land, Bethpage stood for confession, and Bethany, obedience. Without these qualities, 'neither good works, nor contemplation of holy things, nor tears of repentance can be found acceptable'.[58]

In addition to 2 Corinthians 5:16, two other passages influenced Bernard's presentation of the Templars as *imitatores Christi*. The permanence of the Templars' vows enabled Bernard to apply the phrase *vivere Christus est* from Philippians 1:21.[59] The ideal of *imitatio Christi* was

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[52] Barber, *The New Knighthood* p. 46.
[53] Ibid., p. 47. 'The life of Christ has given me a rule (*regula*) for living, and his death has redeemed me from death, one has prepared life, while the other has destroyed death. The life is hard but the death is precious; in fact, both are very necessary'. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 110, *SBO III*, pp. 229-30.
[54] Peter the Venerable Ep. 166, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable, edited, with an introduction and notes* by G. Constable Volume I (Cambridge, MA, 1967).
[55] C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West, From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005) p. 249.
[56] Constable, *Three Studies*, p. 174, Serm, 63*, de diversis*, *SBO VII*, p. 296.
[57] Constable, *Three Studies*, p. 174, Epistle 28 *The Letters of Peter the Venerable,* Vol I, p. 59.
[58] Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p139. *SBO III*, 13.13, 239.1-2 '*Nec stadium bonae actionis, nec otium sanctae contemplationis, nec lacrimae paenitentis… accepta esse poterunt'.*
[59] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 108. *SBO III*, p. 214, pp 379-80.

also invoked by Matthew 16:24; 'Then Jesus said to his disciples, 'whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me'. The power of the image of the cross to recruit is evident in Odo of Deuil's account of Bernard's preaching at Vézelay in 1146.[60] Despite this Bernard and Eugenius III restricted their use of Matthew 16:24 to the Templars. References that would have portrayed the crusaders as 'taking up their crosses' are missing from Eugenius III's *Quantum praedecessores*, descriptions of Bernard's preaching tour, and Bernard's letters. Purkis argues this absence 'suggests that at no stage did Bernard make any positive efforts to identify the crusade badge as a mark of the bearer's Christomimetic piety'.[61] The difference between the crusaders and the Templars was distinct, and only the latter, with their permanent vows, were regarded as imitators of Christ.[62]

In contrast to his advice for the Knights Templar, Bernard urged his monks to take the interior, spiritual, view of miracles, rather than seeing them as events.[63] In his sermon on the birth of St Victor, Bernard warned against imitating miracles, 'saying that it was safer to emulate solidity and virtue than sublimity and glory'.[64] Bernard voiced the opinion that man could not imitate Christ's divinity, only his human characteristics. In a letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Bernard wrote 'only he who has learned from the Lord Jesus Christ how to be meek and humble of heart can ascend the mountain of the Lord or stand in His holy place'.[65]

The sense of progression from visible to invisible is evident in the scriptural references Bernard used in the letter to the brethren of Ireland informing them of Malachy's death. The two references to the *Song of Songs* (8:6 and 1:3) are not surprising given Bernard's sermons

[60] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* (ed.) V. G. Berry (Columbia, NY, 1948) pp. 9-11.
[61] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 89.
[62] Ibid., p. 98.
[63] B. Ward, 'Miracles in the Middle Ages', in G. H. Twelftree (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Miracles* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 149-164, p. 152, 158.
[64] G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* p. 189, Serm. I in *natali s. victoris*, 2 *SBO VII*, p. 31.
[65] Letter 393 *SBO VIII,* citing psalm 23.3.

on the passages. Hebrews 13:14, 'For here we do not have a permanent city, but we are looking for a city that is to come', is a sentiment often expressed by Bernard. The primacy of the heavenly Jerusalem as represented by the cloister, over the earthly, is regularly stated.[66] This can be seen especially in Bernard's attempts to dissuade monks from attempting pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Both the passage in 2 Corinthians 4:18 and 2 Corinthians 5:7 stress the importance of faith beyond the physical.[67] Again, Bernard's emphasis is on spiritual development beyond sacred objects. Robson suggests many of the passages chosen by Bernard relate to the emphasis he placed on zeal as 'the characteristic attitude of those who take God's side'.[68] In the Old Testament this is found most clearly in Exodus, Elijah, and the Psalms. In the New Testament zeal is expounded by Paul and John.[69] Zeal for Bernard could be related to situations where he was trying to encourage or support reform movements, either via institutions or individuals. In the latter case, the Old Testament figure of Phinees appears in Bernard's letters exhorting popes to act with righteousness. Phinees appears ten times in the letter collection, eight times in letters to popes (usually during the schism of 1130-38), to the Roman Curia, and to Falk the dean and Guy the treasurer of the church of Lyons.[70] Overall, Bernard is advocating spiritual development and contemplation away from worldly objects.

While Bernard devoted time to eulogising holy places for the Templars, spaces and relics were not intended for Cistercian monks as such. Cistercian monks who left their monasteries to travel to Jerusalem were taking a retrograde step, abandoning the heavenly city for the earthly one. Indeed, after receiving a canon on pilgrimage bound for the Holy Land at Clairvaux, Bernard found himself writing to the Bishop of Lincoln to explain that the canon

[66] Letter 67, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* pp. 90-92, p. 91.
[67] 'So we fix our eyes not on what is seen, but on what is unseen, since what is seen is temporary, but what is unseen is eternal' and 'For we live by faith, not by sight'.
[68] S. Robson, '*With the Spirt and Power of Elijah' (Lk 1, 17): The Prophetic-Reforming Spirituality of Bernard of Clairvaux as evidenced particularly in his Letters*, (Rome, 2004), p. 318.
[69] Ibid., p. 319.
[70] Robson, '*With the Spirt and Power of Elijah',* pp. 320-7. Phinees also appears in the Sermon 44 on the Song of Songs*, De consideratione* IV, 12 and *Senentiae* III, 42.

would remain there. Bernard described Clairvaux as 'the Jerusalem united to the one in heaven by whole-hearted devotion, by conformity of life, and by a certain spiritual affinity'.[71] In becoming a Cistercian monk, the canon had 'found a short cut to Jerusalem', and commenced a better life.[72] Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was no longer necessary.

Bernard's views on the propriety for pilgrimage for monks were not unusual. An important component of a monk's vow when entering the cloister was the promise of stability, and disavowal of travel other than on monastery business.[73] Brundage notes that St Benedict condemned wilful wandering on the part of a monk as a vice.[74] Benedict displayed a distrust of the self-regulating 'sarabaites' and drifting 'gyrovagues': monks who wandered without reference to an Order or Rule.[75] Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there appeared a general consensus that monks could not assume a valid crusade vow without abbatial consent.[76] The statutes demonstrate an ongoing concern with the importance of monastic stability, through the prohibition of private vows and participation in pilgrimage or crusade. In 1181 the Chapter ruled private vows made before entry into the Order, or afterwards without abbatial permission, would be null and void.[77] In 1192 a wandering pilgrim-monk from a daughter-house across the English Channel arrived at Savigny, and in 1195 and 1200 prohibitions against travel and teaching outside of a monastery were reiterated.[78]

Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and Anselm of Canterbury used similar arguments against the participation of monks in pilgrimages and crusades, emphasising the

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[71] Letter 67, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* pp. 90-92, p. 91.
[72] Ibid., p. 91.
[73] A. J. Andrea, (ed. and trans) *The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (University Park, PA, 1997) p. 33.
[74] J. A. Brundage 'A Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk' in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F O'Sullivan* (Shannon, 1971) pp. 55-62, p.55.
[75] Jotischky *The Perfection of Solitude* p. 1.
[76] Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople,* p. 33.
[77] C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter. Latin text with English Notes and Commentary* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2002). All references to statutes will come from this edition, in the format of 'year, statute number, page number'. 1181, s. 1, p. 92.
[78] 1192, s. 30, p. 247. 1195, s. 16, p. 316. 1200, s. 11, p. 456.

importance of their presence in the cloister. In addition to their shared prominence, these men shared a common education, evident in their choice of citations. As well as the Bible, Bernard refers to the work of SS Augustine and Ambrose, Gregory the Great and Benedict.[79] Bernard also displays a familiarity with classical authors. Boethius is quoted twice in Chapter VIII of *de conversione,* and referred to by Bernard as 'the Wise Man'.[80] Throughout his writings other authors appear: Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Perseius, Seneca, Statius, Tacitus, Terence, and Virgil.[81] The letters in Anselm of Canterbury's collection also demonstrate a familiarity with classical authors.[82] Constable states that 'the strongest influence on Peter's epistolary style, after the Bible, was the work of Cicero'.[83] Cicero's *Laelius de Amicita* (*On Friendship*) was cited by Peter, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Peter of Blois.[84] It is reasonable to compare their writing in terms of content and style.

Peter the Venerable was prepared to grant the usefulness of holy sites, but such 'aids to devotion were superfluous for the monk, who was leading the best possible Christian life by virtue of his profession'.[85] Anselm, in a letter to a monk of St Martin of Seez, explained his disapproval of the monk's desire to undertake pilgrimage to Jerusalem because 'this desire of

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[79] In a letter to Bruno, then the archbishop-elect of Cologne, Bernard cites both his own sermon '*de diversis'* and St Augustine (Letter 9 (1131), '*de diversis'* XLII, Augustine, *Confessions*, Book VII, Chapter 10, B.S. James, *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Stroud, 1998), p. 39). A passage from St Augustine's letter to Armentarius also appears in the treatise *Of Precept and Dispensation* (W. W. Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Manchester, 1935), p. 245). In letter 168 to Geoffrey, the abbot of St Mary's, York, Bernard recommends Gregory the Great's book on *Pastoral Care (The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* Letter 168 (1133), p. 237), and appeals to the *Homilies on Ezekiel* (Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 245).

[80] Williams, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 245. Throughout Bernard's S*ermons on the Song of Songs*, St Paul is quoted extensively, see Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 452.

[81] J. R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernard of Clairvaux on the Life of the Mind* (New York, NY, 2004), p. 36.

[82] In Letter 384, Queen Mathilda compares Anselm's style to classical authors, saying that his letters 'do not lack the seriousness of Fronto, the fluency of Cicero or the wit of Quintilian; the doctrine of Paul, the precision of Jerome, the learning of Gregory and the interpretation of Augustine are indeed overflowing in them. And what is even greater than this: from them pours the sweetness of evangelical eloquence'. Fröhlich, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991) Vol 3, p. 239.

[83] *The Letters of Peter the Venerable, edited, with an introduction and notes* by G. Constable (Cambridge, 1967) Vol II, p. 38.

[84] Letter 81 to Hato of Troyes, Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable,* Vol II, p. 39. M. F. Williams, *Aelred of Rievaulx's Spiritual Friendship* (London, 1994), pp. 15-16. Peter the Venerable's Letter 124 demonstrates a knowledge of Horace, and 177 of Virgil, showing that he took advantage of the library at Cluny, Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable,* Vol 2, p. 39.

[85] Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople,* p. 14.

yours does not come from a good quarter, nor is it good for your soul'.[86] These injunctions against monastic pilgrimage corroborate the argument that Bernard had different expectations of monks than other Christians, due to his understanding of humility as self-knowledge. The existence of such Cistercian legislation indicates that Bernard's fears were shared by other abbots of his order, and the General Chapter. The reiterations of the injunction in 1192, 1195, and 1200 illustrate a continuing problem as monks were enticed by the idea of pilgrimage.[87]

For Bernard, pilgrimage was distraction. A monk who desired to leave his monastery and travel to the Holy Land had misunderstood the purpose of the cloister, and stopped focusing on contemplation. Unlike monks, less 'advanced' Christians may require relics to engage their interest and begin their spiritual journey. Bernard facilitated this in *de laude*, but not in the *vita Malachie*. There the greatest miracle was the saint's life, not the possibility of miracles at his tomb.

3. Bernard of Clairvaux in his wider monastic context

This chapter has argued that St Malachy's cult was managed in a distinctive way. Through the presentation of miracles that emphasised the saint's virtues and discouraging pilgrimage to the tomb, Bernard of Clairvaux restricted the audience of the cult to the Cistercian Order. This was due to the inner view Bernard hoped his monks were capable of, and the distraction the flow of lay pilgrims posed. In contrast, Bernard understood that some Christians required relics and sacred spaces as a starting point for deeper meditation. The final section of this chapter will explore the monastic context in which Bernard's opinions operated. Throughout Bernard's writings there is a strain between this disapproval of distracting pilgrims and material goods,

[86] Letter 410, Fröhlich, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1994) Vol 3, p. 177.
[87] For further discussion see Chapter 6.

and objects relating to the cult of saints. It will be argued that these opinions on the role of wealth were part of a wider polemical landscape, as monastic reformers defined themselves in opposition to traditional Benedictine monasticism.

Bernard was part of a wider conversation about the authenticity of relics and their proper veneration.[88] Both of these related concerns were part of a regulatory discourse which sought to control improvised religious expression, pilgrim behaviour, and the social practices surrounding relic cults. There were differing viewpoints on the role of ornament and substitution of reliquary for relic. While Suger of Saint-Denis (1081-1151) and Thiofrid of Echternach (d.1110) used precious stones to honour God, Guibert of Nogent (c.1060-1125) stressed an elaborate reliquary was no guarantee of holy relics within. Bernard also disagreed with elaborate and ornate reliquaries, though for different reasons. The emphasis on humility and the danger of wealth in Bernard's writings suggest that the shrine and the relic were distinct in his thinking, and the shrine was the source of his anxiety with regards to relics. Humility and simplicity were praised regularly, suggesting that lavish shrines were equated with immoderate display, distracting from prayer.

Humility functioned as a foil for pride which was often manifested as wealth and material goods, which could be contrasted with spiritual health.[89] Throughout Bernard's letter collection the possession of goods and wealth were seen as a distraction from spiritual life, and the critiques of ornamentation and warnings of the danger of craftsmanship and artifice can be seen in Bernard's other writings. Letter 104 to William, a monk of Clairvaux in 1113, outlines the

[88] J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (London, 2002) p. 127.
[89] G. E. M. Gasper, 'Contemplating Money and Wealth in Monastic Writing c. 1060- c. 1160', in G. E. M. Gasper and S. H. Gullbekk (eds.) *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200: Practice, Morality and Thought* (Abingdon, 2015), pp. 39-77, especially at pp. 39-40.

importance of poverty, and how the glory of possessions keeps people from God.[90] A similar sentiment is expressed by Bernard in sermon 25 section 7 on the *Song of Songs*:

> It is with good reason then that the saints find no time for the glamour of jewellery and the elegance of dress, that lose their appeal with the passing hour (2 Cor 4:16); their whole attention is fixed on improving and adorning the inward self that is made in the image of God.[91]

The sermon goes on to state 'their [the saint's] glory is within, not without', and therefore more pleasing to God. Their 'inward light' is more magnificent when compared to their 'unsightly' outward appearance.[92] Disapproval of material goods is seen in Bernard's treatise *De Conversione.* Here he tells us 'the insatiable love of riches is a desire that brings more torment to the soul than their enjoyment brings refreshment'.[93] Whether prompted by pilgrims or decoration, the distraction of monks from their contemplation was always a problem.

Bernard's letter-treatises reinforce the message that humility in office and good works are more pleasing to God than wealth. *De moribus et officio episcoporum* (*On the Office of Bishops*) focuses on the tensions between active and contemplative lives. In his exposition on the relationship between bishops and monks, Bernard tells Henry, Archbishop of Sens, that a bishop will not honour his ministry by elegant clothes, grand buildings and a parade of horses, 'but by moral elegance, spiritual zeal, and good works'.[94] A similar idea is expressed in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum Sancti Theoderici Abbatem* (*Apology to William of Saint Thierry*), where Bernard speaks of monks who 'travel with so much pomp and so many mounted men […] If I am not mistaken I have seen an abbot heading sixty horse and more in his train',

[90] Letter 104 (1131), *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. S. James (Stroud, 1998) pp. 151-152.
[91] J. France, 'The iconography of Bernard of Clairvaux and his sister Humbeline' in M. P. Lillich (ed.) *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 6* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005) pp. 1-22, p. 7.
[92] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, trans. D. Wright, (Internet Archive, 2008).
[93] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion*, trans. G. R. Evans, (ed.) E. Griffin (New York, NY, 2005).
[94] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the conduct and office of bishops,* II, 4, in M. Newman and E. Steigman (eds.) *Bernard of Clairvaux: On baptism and the office of bishops, on the conduct and office of bishops, on baptism and other questions: two letter-treatises,* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2004), p. 42.

equating possessions with a sense of excess and pride.[95] Throughout Bernard addresses concerns about episcopal virtues and monastic exemptions that appear in the letter collection.[96] Nearly half of the tract is devoted to the importance of humility, sixteen out of thirty-seven chapters. 'Humility' is similarly defined in *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae,* but aimed at a different audience. Considering both treatises together, Bernard argues that while humility is important for monks and bishops, a monk must concentrate on those aspects of pride which affect the lives of his community, while a bishop must focus on the manifestations of pride unique to his position.[97] Bernard likewise praised the lack of decoration on Templar equipment, 'for the splendour of the colour and decoration should not be seen by others as arrogance'.[98]

When Bernard's opinions are compared to those of members of other austere reform orders, such as the Carthusian Guigo I (1083-1132), it is evident that Bernard's views on the danger of wealth and distractions of the physical manifestations of spirituality were used as markers of differentiation and evidence of belief. According to John of Salisbury, these orders displayed:

> The greatest caution and conscientiousness in avoiding the name and stigma of hypocrites; for they have indeed fixed limits to their desires, nay even to their necessities, hold in check avarice with the reigns of moderation, and at times even deprive themselves of necessities for fear that avarice under cover of necessity may plot against them.[99]

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[95] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apology,* XI, 27, in C. Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance" Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, PA, 1990) p. 227.
[96] See for example Letters 73, 76-9, 81-5, 103, 380 in *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux.*
[97] Newman, 'Contemplative Virtues and the Active Life of Prelates', p. 31.
[98] Barber, *The New Knighthood,* p. 17.
[99] Ibid., p. 51. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, C .C. J. Webb (ed) (Oxford, 1909), Ch. 23. Translation from *John of Salisbury, Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, J. B. Pike trans. (New York, NY, 1972, [1938]) pp. 281-6. 281 '*Quod Cartuarienses, dum moderationis habenis auaritiam cohibent, et Magni Montis noua religio, dum omnia mundane contempnens et de crostino non cogitans repellit omnia, auaritiam excludit, ab ypocritarum nota et nomine longius absunt; et qui sint seculars aut religiousi; et quae regula actiuorum et quae otiosorum; et quis sit finis ypocriseos'*

Both William of Saint-Thierry and Guigo I stressed the Carthusian privileging of the interior over the exterior.[100] In a similar manner to Bernard, Guigo argued worldly goods were distractions from the contemplation of God, and that 'the transitory should not be preferred to the eternal'.[101]

Comparisons can also be drawn with the Order of Grandmont, an order of hermits founded by St Stephen Muret at the end of the eleventh century.[102] The Grandmontine Rule of 1156 set strict property limits, and the Carthusians forbade themselves riches and prohibited the use of silver vessels in their churches.[103] Cistercian legislation similarly addressed Bernard's concerns. Early regulations stated silken altar cloths and vestments were prohibited, chasubles were to be of one colour, and metal altar utensils were to be without gold, silver and gems. Unlike the Carthusians, the chalice and fistula could be made of silver or silver gilt.[104] Humility appeared regularly in the writings of monastic reformers in the twelfth century, and, as the Rules of the Carthusians and Grandmontines show, was not only a cognate for reliquaries for Bernard.

Bernard's view that ornate reliquaries distracted from more meditative prayer can be contrasted with those of Suger of Saint-Denis and Thiofrid of Echternach as example of the extreme positions taken in this period. Suger emphasised the craftsmanship over the expense; in a passage in *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis* (*The book on what was done under his administration*) where he recorded the verses inscribed on the church's main doors, he stated 'the work should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights, to

[100] William of Saint-Thierry, *The Golden Epistle: A Letter to the Brethren of Mont Dieu*, XXXVI, trans. T. Berkeley, (Kalamazoo, MI, 1971) pp. 59-60.
[101] Gasper, 'Contemplating Money and Wealth in Monastic Writing', pp. 69-70.
[102] C. Hutchinson, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989).
[103] Gasper, 'Contemplating Money and Wealth in Monastic Writing', p. 52, p. 68. An account of the austerity of the Carthusians can be found in Guibert of Nogent's *Monodies*, I.11, pp. 27-8.
[104] Waddell, *NLT,* p. 413, 464; *Exordium Cistercii* 25, *Exordium Parvum* 10.

the True Light where Christ is the true door'.[105] Suger suggests that spiritual development was possible through the contemplation of the work; 'the dull mind rises in truth through that which is material and, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submersion'.[106] This excess is what was criticised by Bernard, a distraction from humility and prayer. Expressing a sentiment similar to Guibert of Nogent, in the *Apologia* he stated:

> The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers […] Oh, vanity of vanities, whose vanity is rivalled only by insanity! The walls of the church are aglow, but the poor of the Church go hungry […] The food of the poor is taken to feed the eyes of the rich […] while the needy have not even the necessities of life.[107]

This difference in opinion on the role of decoration was due to Saint-Denis' political context; as a symbol of royal power, its renovation had political as well as religious implications. During his tenure as abbot, Suger had renovated the Carolingian nave and embellished the church, all the while aiming to reinforce the association between the abbey and the monarchy. In his exegesis on the *Song of Songs*, Bernard highlighted Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, which taught monks how to 'know and condemn (*cognoscere et contemnere*) the world's vanity', and 'regulate their lives and morals (*vita et mores*)'.[108]

Thiofrid of Echternach (d.1110), abbot of a Benedictine monastery in Luxemburg, wrote *Flores epytaphii sanctorum,* between 1098 and 1105.[109] The text outlined the status of relics

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[105] Suger of Saint- Denis, *De Administratione* (XXVII) *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its art treasures* trans. E. Panofsky, (Princeton, NJ, 1979), p. 47-9.
[106] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its art treasures,* p. 47-9.
[107] Bernard of Clairvaux, *An Apologia to Abbot William*, M. Casey trans. (Kalamazoo, MI, 1970), p. 65, *Apologia ad Guillelmim*, in *SBO, III*, pp. 81-108. '*Et ut aperte loquar, an hoc totum facit avarita, quae est idolorum servitus, et non requirimus fructum, sed datum? Si quaeris: 'Quomodo?' 'Miro', inquam, 'modo'. Tali quadam arte spargitur aes, ut multiplicetur. Expenditure ut augeatur, et effusion copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit, quia nesco quoo pacto, ubi amplius divitarium cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Auro tectis reliquiis signantur oculi, et loculi aperiuntur Ostenditur pulcherrima forma Sancti vel Sanctae alicuius, et eo creditor sanctior, quo coloratior Currunt homines ad osculandum, invitantur ad donandum, et magis mirantur pulchra, quam venerantur sacra. O vanitas vanitatum, sed non vanior quam insanior! Fulget ecclesia parietibus et in pauperibus eget. Suos lapides induit auro, et suos filios nudos deserit'.*
[108] Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 413.
[109] Thiofridus Epternacensis, *Flores epytaphii sanctorum,* (ed.) M.C. Ferrari, *CCCM, 133* (Turnhout, 1996).

as privileged matter sanctified by Christ, and the significance of notable and non-notable relics. This hierarchy of relics prioritised whole, incorrupt, bodies, before body fragments, or contact relics.[110] If relics are the treasure of Christ, then elaborate shrines were necessary to convey status; 'those who reign as kings in heaven should be gloriously housed on earth'.[111] Where Guibert of Nogent warned against reliquaries that obscured a common human nature, Thiofrid argued 'gold comprises the best (temporal) way to demonstrate that the 'paltry dust [of saints' relics] more precious than worldly gold''.[112] The reliquary conceals the relic, in the same way that the body conceals the soul.[113] The shrine could thus be presented as the relic, and in order to comprehend the relic's power, monks and pilgrims only had to look at the shrine.[114]

These elaborately decorated reliquaries would draw pilgrims. Some abbeys encouraged their arrival. Guibert of Nogent is perhaps more unusual in his forthright criticism of abuses by churchmen. Writing *De Pignoribus Sanctorum* (*On the Relics of Saints*) around 1120, Guibert was concerned by the social practices surrounding relic cults. In documenting the abuses he had seen, Guibert aimed to present a doctrine for the proper veneration of relics. He suggested the veneration of saints and their example was helpful, but not essential for salvation.[115] At the end of the third book of *De Pignoribus*, Guibert issued a plea that churchmen would 'learn how profane it is to seek profit from touring the saints of from display [of] their bones', presumably related to the criticism Guibert had outlined against the relic tours by the canons of the cathedral

[110] T. Head, 'Guibert of Nogent, On Saints and Their Relics', in T. Head (ed.) *Medieval Hagiography, An Anthology* (Hove, 2001) pp. 399-427, p. 406.
[111] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity* p. 210, quoting Thiofrid, of Echternach *Flores epytaphii sanctorum,* Book 1 Ch. 5, Book 2 Ch. 1, P. L. cols 324-6, 337-41.
[112] Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* p. 53, citing *Flores epytaphii sanctorum,* Book 2, Ch. 2, '*preciosior est puluis exiguous auro mundo*'.
[113] Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* p. 53.
[114] Ibid., p. 52.
[115] Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, in *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat; De bucella iudae data et de veritate dominici corporis; De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, 127 (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-104, Book 1, Chapters 86-7.

of Laon.[116] Lavish expenditure and clerical avarice could lead to saints being made for shrines, rather than the other way around. The accidental death of a boy from Beauvais on Holy Friday led to his veneration by the local populace. People arrived at the grave with candles and offerings, leading to the erection of a monument. Guibert was disappointed that the abbot did not intervene in the fraud, instead benefiting from the financial transactions that resulted from the creation of the shrine.[117] A similar refrain was echoed by Henry of Huntingdon in the 1140s:

> The religious have grown accustomed to this kind of deception and falsehood for their own personal enrichment, and to enlarge the shrines of their saints beyond what is reasonable.[118]

Attempts to encourage proper pilgrim behaviour are also present in Eadmer of Canterbury's (c.1060-c.1126) tract on the relics of St Audoen, which recounted Lanfranc's investigation into Canterbury's relics, as told to him by Osbern.[119] As the new archbishop, Lanfranc was interested in the saints of his new cathedral. Osbern and Eadmer later investigated Canterbury's shrine, finding in one reliquary bones, *ampullae*, grains of incense, candles, and two notes, which identified the relics as belonging to St Audoen and St Gregory the Great. Below these objects the hagiographers found another skeleton, containing a note in the skull which identified the body as '*Reliquiae sancti Audeoni confessoris'*.[120] Their presumption in undertaking such an investigation was punished in a terrifying vision in which two youths appeared to reprimand them for their presumption.[121] The process of enshrinement often

[116] *De Pignoribus Sanctorum* Book 3, 157. Rubenstien, *Guibert of Nogent,* p. 125, 128. Relic tours will be discussed in more detail in chapters 4 (in Cistercian exempla collections) and 6 (statutes from the General Chapter).
[117] Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 246, p. 250. See also Head, 'Guibert of Nogent', pp. 413-14.
[118] Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* p. 18.
[119] Eadmer, *De reliquiis S. Audieni* p. 367, A. Wilmary, (ed.) *Reuvue des sciences religieuses*, 15 (1935) pp. 302-70. See also J. Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in R. Eales and R. Sharpe (eds.) *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints, and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London, 1995), pp. 27-40, p. 28, Rubenstien *Guibert of Nogent* p.127, Recounted by Guibert at 1, 88, drawn from *Vita S. Anselmi* 1, 30, by Eadmer of Canterbury.
[120] Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', p. 33.
[121] Ibid., p. 33.

coincided with the reinforcement of proper forms of veneration and appropriate pilgrim behaviour before the shrine. In recounting the translation of St Oswold at Canterbury, Eadmer referred explicitly to reducing the access of pilgrims to the relics. The saint was to translated to a place 'free of the bustle of secular persons and removed from access by the irreverent.[122] While Guibert and Eadmer may not be representative of Benedictine thought in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with regards the role of relic containers and proper forms of veneration, this is evidence that Bernard was not alone in his anxieties.

Conclusion

Bernard was the impetus in the creation and management of the cult of St Malachy at Clairvaux. As such the cult is a useful case study for understanding Bernard's perspective on the role of the cult of saints in a Cistercian abbey and for the Order as a whole. When the wider corpus of Bernard's writings are considered it becomes evident that he viewed the value of relics contextually. Their value, and that of sacred spaces, was circumstantial, related to each object's accumulated history and social relations, and more useful for some individuals than others. Bernard disapproved of ornate reliquaries as a distraction from prayer and deeper meditation, as well as a potential source of moral temptation. He did not view monastic pilgrimage as appropriate and did not encourage lay pilgrimage to the tomb of St Malachy.

The distinction between criticism of the presentation of relics and the relics themselves is important. For Bernard, reliquaries were important insofar as they aided or distracted from

[122] *At nunc cum iam caelica illum revelation in hoc opus roborasset, nichil haesitans, diem praefixit in quo desiderio suo satisfaceret, in hoc est, ipsius patris eximios artus e terra leveret, ac in loco saecularium personarum frequentia uacuo irreverentique access remote collocaret. Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswold* (ed. and trans.) A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir (Oxford, 2006) pp. 300-301. See also Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* p. 4. See also J. Crook, 'The Enshrinement of Local Saints in Francia and England', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds) *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002) pp. 189-224, p. 209.

prayer. Relics were seen as the first stage in an individual's personal development. Bernard's emphasis on humility and simplicity, as an intellectual virtue, a criterion for sanctity, and a foil for dangerous pride, indicates that the shrine was the focus of his anxiety. Concern for the presentation of relics suggests an awareness of the impact a luxurious shrine might have on the relationship between supplicant and saint. Unlike Suger of Saint-Denis and Thiofrid of Echternach, Bernard did not view precious materials as the only fitting containers for precious objects, or expect striking craftsmanship to raise 'dull minds'. Bernard's position on ornament is closer to that of other monastic reformers such as Guigo I, for whom decoration was a distraction from inner contemplation.

This chapter has demonstrated the extent of Bernard's awareness of the boundaries between the Cistercians and other groups (other monastic orders, the clergy, and the laity), as well as the extent to which this awareness was reflected in his writings. Throughout the texts explored in this chapter, it has been evident that Bernard tailored his message relating to the utility of relics in saints' cults to his intended audience, clearly expecting his own monks to manage without objects as a 'starting point' but accepting the necessity for other, less-advanced, Christians. There was a Cistercian way of expressing devotion to saints and relics that demonstrated anxieties about the presence of disruptive pilgrims. Bernard of Clairvaux's management of Malachy's cult was focused on a monastic audience and did not aim to inspire lay pilgrimage. In his writing on monastic stability, it is clear that Bernard expected monks to remain in their monasteries; when discussing relics and their containers it is evident that he expected monks to be capable of a deeper devotion than ordinary Christians. Here the exclusivity of Bernard's thoughts about the Order are clear, as Cistercian monks are portrayed as an elite group, distinct from lay people and other monastic groups.

Chapter Two

A marked absence: Posthumous miracles and relic dispersal in the cult of St Bernard

On 20 August 1153 Bernard of Clairvaux died. Originally buried in the oratory of the second church of Clairvaux, his remains were translated to a chapel in the third church in 1174, and to an altar-tomb in 1178. Bernard was canonised on 18 January 1174 by Pope Alexander III, following an unsuccessful attempt by the Order to secure such recognition in 1163. Preparatory work for Bernard's hagiography began during his lifetime, and by the time the paperwork created for the successful canonisation request was complete, various authors had been involved in shaping Bernard's sanctity. Through these authors, different conceptualisations of the saint can be seen, as he was presented as a Cistercian monk, the founder of the Clarevellian filiation, and an important player in Church politics.

This chapter will argue that the cults of St Bernard and St Malachy were curated by the community at Clairvaux to minimise the risk of lay interference and pilgrimage. Bernard's writings show him to be intensely aware of his audiences, and his advice for monks, abbots, clerics, lay people, or Knights Templar varied. While aware that relics and miracles could provide a useful starting point for engaging with Christ and the saints, Bernard warned against the danger of wealth and the distractions provided by ornate reliquaries. Instead he advocated for a more humble, interior devotion. In his own writings miracles had a didactic function. Pilgrimage was prohibited for monks, who were expected to understand that their cloister represented the heavenly Jerusalem. His posthumous cult mirrored these opinions.

This chapter will explore the transformation of Bernard from a monk and political figure into a saint, and the ways in which the Order encouraged its monks' veneration while dissuading lay pilgrimage. It will begin with the textual presentation of the saint to the laity.

Here the absence of posthumous healing miracles is a clear marker of how differently Clairvaux intended the cult to operate from its contemporaries in large cathedrals.[1] Anxieties prompted by pilgrims are also evident in Cistercian exempla collections and hagiography. The creation of the *Vita Prima* by several distinct authors and its reshaping during the canonisation process provides a useful insight into how Bernard's sanctity could be perceived.[2] Both these hagiographic texts and the canonisation letters reveal the extent to which individuals attempted to shape St Bernard to fit common hagiographical tropes and contemporary expectations for saintliness. In contrast, Bernard's sanctity was promoted within the Order. While posthumous healing miracles were still uncommon, he appeared often in visionary narratives in a pastoral or disciplinary role. Complementing the cult of St Malachy, Bernard was presented as the ideal monk, whose life was full of imitable virtues for Cistercian monks.

The chapter will then turn from texts to objects; first considering how Bernard's physical remains were situated and venerated within the abbey church at Clairvaux II following his burial in 1153, and following the translations in 1174 and 1178. Finally the chapter will consider what relics associated with Bernard were identified, venerated, and distributed. This will demonstrate that the relics were not freely distributed in a manner designed to encourage the spread of devotion or prompt pilgrimage. Rather, Bernard's remains were kept safe for the exclusive use of monks at Clairvaux.

It will be argued that though competing views of St Bernard are present in the early hagiography, the later texts, canonisation letters, and miracle collections all seem to present a more uniform view. The cult at Clairvaux, and the restricted access to the tomb, suggests that early Cistercian devotion to the saint did involve relics, but that the cult was limited to the Clarevallian community and anxieties about the presence of pilgrims was widespread.

[1] This comparison will be explored in Chapter Three.
[2] Throughout this chapter *Vita Prima* will be abbreviated to *VP*.

1. *Dissuading lay pilgrimage in the cult of St Bernard*

The textual presentation of St Bernard placed no emphasis on posthumous healing miracles centred on the tomb. This section will argue that the Order was careful not to excite lay interest in Bernard as a thaumaturge, by exploring the canonisation letters, evidence for anxieties about pilgrims in Cistercian exempla collections, and instances of failed miracles for laity.

The Cistercians first requested Bernard's canonisation in 1163. Following the death of Pope Eugenius III in 1153, the Cistercians expected little support from his successors Anastasius IV (1153-1154) or Adrian IV (1154-1159), as they had weaker connections with the Order, and their pontificates were short-lived.[3] The schism that followed the election of Alexander III presented a new opportunity, linked to the memory of Bernard's work on behalf of Innocent II between 1130 and 1138.[4] In 1163, at a meeting in Paris before the Council of Tours, Geoffrey of Auxerre initiated the canonisation request.[5] Alexander did not put the request on the council agenda. The canonisation letters issued in 1174 suggest this delay was due to the volume of requests he had received.[6] But papal canonisation procedures had changed, and such requests were no longer to be submitted during a synod or council.[7]

The failure to secure Bernard's canonisation at Tours led to textual revisions of the *VP*, and changes to the authors involved. During this period Geoffrey of Auxerre abdicated the

[3] Whereas Eugenius III (c.1080-1153) had been a member of the Cistercian Order, first at Clairvaux, then Scandriglia, and finally S. Anastasio alle Tre Fontane outside Rome. He was elected pope in 1145. For a recent exploration of his papacy, see I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, and A. Jotischky (eds.) *Pope Eugenius III (1145-53): The First Cistercian Pope* (Amsterdam, 2019).
[4] At the national council of the French bishops at Étampes in 1130, Bernard was chosen to decide between the rival popes. After finding in favour of Innocent II, Bernard persuaded King Henry I of England to do likewise. Bernard accompanied Innocent to Pisa, Genoa, and Milan, as well as to Innocent's meeting with Lothair II, Holy Roman Emperor. For further reading see E. Keenan, 'The '*De Consideratione'* of St Bernard of Clairvaux and the papacy in the mid-twelfth century: a review of scholarship', *Traditio,* 23 (1967) pp. 73-115.
[5] Geoffrey of Auxerre joined the community at Clairvaux in 1140, after hearing Bernard preach in Paris. He acted as Bernard's secretary, and travelled with him throughout France and Germany while Bernard preached against heresy and recruited for the crusade.
[6] R. Somerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163) A Study of Ecclesiastical Politics and Institutions in the Twelfth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1977), p. 60. PL 185 col. 622.
[7] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 45.

abbacy of Clairvaux, reducing his oversight of the text.[8] Spending time at Cîteaux, Geoffrey was involved in mediation between Henry II and Thomas Becket in 1169, before becoming the abbot of Fossanova in 1170. Meanwhile there were divisions within the community at Clairvaux; Godfroy de la Roche Vanneaux, previously the prior of Clairvaux and then the bishop of Langres, planned a rival *vita*, but died in 1165 before its completion.[9] Responsibility for this *Vita Secunda* was then transferred to Alain of Auxerre, and addressed to Abbot Pons of Clairvaux.[10] Their disapproval of the *VP* was primarily due to Geoffrey's involvement, and the text's extreme length. This rival *vita* eliminated Bernard's contemporaries' criticism of his activities outside the monastery, and in this is closer to the *VP* than the other hagiographic writings from Clairvaux between 1170 and 1180. By around 1169 Geoffrey was aware that the *Vita Secunda* would not be able to support a canonisation request, and so began revising his text.[11]

Alexander III eventually canonised Bernard in 1174, having received the revised *vita.* He wrote a series of letters to publicise his decision addressed to the petitioner and those who had officially supported the request: the abbots of Cistercian abbeys, the community at Clairvaux, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, and Louis VII of France. In his letter to the French bishops, Alexander referred to the previous request for Bernard's canonisation at Tours, 'Upon a *renewed request*, we have *again* occupied ourselves with the memory of the holy and distinguished life of this blessed man'.[12] Alexander emphasised Bernard's 'personal holiness and piety', and to his role in the spread of the order:

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[8] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 49. Geoffrey was elected abbot of Clairvaux in 1161 or 1162, resigned in 1163. He was abbot of Fossanova (1170), then Hautecombe (1176). See S. Lenssen,'A Propos de Cîteaux et de S. Thomas de Canterbury: L'abdication due bienheureux Geoffroy d'Auxerre comme abbe de Clairvaux', *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorum*, 17 (1955) pp. 98-110.
[9] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 50.
[10] Ibid., p. 53.
[11] Ibid., p. 52. PL 185 cols 622-5.
[12] PL 185 col. 622, '*Contigit olim, dum essemus Parisius constituti, ut magni quidam ac venerabiles viri de canonizando sanctae recordationis Bernardo quondam Clarae-Vallensi abbate facerent mentionem, optantes*

> He established the institutions of the holy religion in faraway regions and introduced these to 'barbaric' nations. He saw to it that monasteries were established in more and more countries, and he was able to call an immeasurable number of sinners, who walked in the broad way of the world, back to the narrow path of spiritual life.[13]

Perhaps as the Order had hoped in its support of Alexander during the schism, he noted Bernard's support of Innocent II; 'he supported the most holy Church of Rome, which we now lead with God's help, when it suffered a whirlwind of persecution'.[14]

The absence of any posthumous miracles in these letters as supporting evidence for Bernard's sanctity is telling. The text of these letters can be compared with those Alexander wrote for Edward the Confessor (1161), Cnut Laward (1169) and Thomas Becket (1173). In 1139 Innocent III had refused to canonise Edward the Confessor. After the end of the English civil war, and Henry II's decision to support Alexander III in the papal schism in the summer of 1160, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, wrote to the pope.[15] On 7 February 1161 Alexander issued the bull of canonisation.[16] In this letter Alexander stated he had seen the letters of his predecessor, and a book of miracles and testimonies that had been sent from England.

In around 1147 Prince Waldemar of Denmark decided to translate the relics of his father, Cnut Laward. Eskil, archbishop of Lund and the papal legate for Scandinavia, held

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utique et piis nobis precibus suggerentes, ut in concilio', Translated in Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 74. My emphasis.

[13] PL 185 col. 622. '*Fructum vero quem in domo Domini et verbo operatus est et exemplo, nullus fere terminus sanctae Christianitatis ignorat: cum usque ad exteras quoque et barbaras nationes sanctae religionis instituta transmiserit, atque monasteriorum fundationem extenderit, et infinitam multitudinem peccatorum per viae saecularis latitudinem incedentem, ad spiritualis vitae rectitudinem revocarit'*. Translated in Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 74.

[14] PL 185 col. 622. '*Specialiter autem sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, cui auctore Deo praesidemus, ita quondam sub gravis persecutionis turbine laborantem, tam vitae merito, quam datae sibi coelitus sapientiae studio sustentavit, ut digne quidem et nobis, et omnibus ejusdem Ecclesiae filiis in memoria habendus sit, et devotione perpetua venerandus'*. Translated in Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 74.

[15] E. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1945), pp. 13-28, p. 17.

[16] E. W. Williamson, *The Letters of Osbert of Claire, Prior of Westminster* (Oxford, 1998) p. 82.

canonisation as a matter for the pope.[17] When Waldemar became king of Denmark he revisited the translation; he consulted Eskil, and a mission headed by the archbishop of Uppsala was sent to Rome. The archbishop presented the pope with evidence of Canute's life and miracles, returning with a bull of canonisation.[18]

Several of Alexander's letters contain reference to Thomas Becket.[19] It appears that although reports of miracles were reaching him, he waited for the official report from his legates before taking action. On 10 March 1173 he wrote to the legates to inform them of Becket's canonisation.[20] On 12 March he addressed the bull to the chapter of Canterbury, telling them to translate the body and observe the anniversary every year.[21] Letters were also addressed to the clergy and people of England, and the archbishops, bishops and prelates. Kemp notes the *Redolet Anglia* 'describes the examination of Thomas' miracles and the testimony of the papal legates, records the canonisation, and orders the observance of the martyr's feast'.[22]

These canonisation letters present the miracles performed during the saint's life and at the tomb as 'the most important argument for their canonisation'.[23] In contrast, the letters written on the occasion of Bernard's canonisation mention no posthumous miracles. Bredero suggests this departure from tradition is due to the influence of Tromund, a monk from Chiaravalle then active in the papal chancery, who could have given Cistercian ideas more weight when redacting the letters.[24] Tromund may have kept the focus away from Bernard's tomb. Here it

[17] '*Romane sedis reverenciam observans nec obvians racioni, a voto iuvenum velle avertens, id ne fieret, auctoritate pontificali interdix'*. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', p. 16. MGH script xxix p. 18.
[18] Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', p. 19. PL 200 Col. 608.
[19] Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', p. 19. PL 200 Cols. 725, 726, 727, 730, 735, 872, 894, letters 788, 789, 790, 794, 798, 995, 1014.
[20] PL 200 Col. 900.
[21] PL 200 Col. 900 f.
[22] Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', p. 19. PL 200, Col 901 f.
[23] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 71.
[24] S. J. Heathcote, 'The Letter Collection Attributed to Master Transmundus, Papal Notary and Monk of Clairvaux in the Twelfth Century', *Analecta Cisterciensia,* 21, 177, 18, (1965) pp. 35-109.

is important to note that though present in some redactions, the majority of the manuscripts containing Bernard's *vitae* do not include miracles at Bernard's tomb.

The petitioners also presented Bernard as a saint from the moment of his birth. This may reflect a commonly held opinion, or could be a direct reference to the dream of Bernard's mother, as reported in the *VP.* While pregnant with Bernard, Aleth's saw within her a barking dog. She consulted a religious man who told her not to be anxious, reminding her of Psalm 67.24, 'the tongues of your dogs lick the blood of their enemies'. He went on to tell her she would be the mother of the 'guardian of God's house', who would 'like a guard dog bark against the great enemies of faith'.[25] Her son would be a gifted preacher who would heal souls. Aleth decided that Bernard would be offered to the church. In either case, during the canonisation process the authors stressed the image of Bernard's absolute sainthood, with grace manifested in their subject from birth, rather than suggesting any development in his sanctity, or placing any importance on posthumous miracles.[26]

Compared to the other canonisation letters issued by Alexander III, the silence on this aspect of Bernard's sanctity is significant. Whereas in his other letters Alexander discussed the posthumous miracles of the candidates as an important aspect of their sanctity, for Bernard the pope was happy to concentrate on the political dimensions of Bernard's career, such as his intervention in the papal schism. In doing so, Alexander simultaneously conformed to Cistercian models and wishes by minimising the importance of a potential tomb-centred cult at Clairvaux, while highlighting the unusual position of Bernard as a worldly monk.

The absence of posthumous miracles is likely due to the anxieties the presence of pilgrims prompted in the Order. In earlier versions of the *vita* two posthumous healing miracles were

[25] Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, Book I, Chapter 2, pp. 4-5. Latin edition from *Vita Prima Sancti Bernardi Claraevallis Abbatis, Liber Primus,* (ed.) Paul Verdeyen, CCCM 89B (Turnhout, 2011).
[26] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 58.

included, but later removed. The oldest version of the fifth book of the *VP*, the version Geoffrey of Auxerre sent to Archbishop Eskil, contains a post-mortem healing miracle, wherein contact with Bernard's body restores a man's withered arm.[27] This is similar to an account included by Bernard in his *vita Malachie*. Then Bernard himself brought a boy with a withered arm up to the bishop's body during the funeral, and he was healed.[28] The mention of Bernard's miracle is present in the manuscript from Anchin and other manuscripts following redaction A.[29] These texts include another posthumous miracle. An epileptic monk who prayed for healing near Bernard's bier experienced no further attacks. This account, and others of miraculous answers to prayers near the biers of both Bernard and Malachy, were removed in redaction B.[30] These miracles are present in the Anchin manuscript due to its relationship to the codex prepared for the first canonisation request. Then the authors' collective that met to approve the codex decided to include the posthumous miracles, in line with common practice.[31] The miracles were

[27] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 65. Geoffrey began writing while Bernard was alive, and only preparatory work could be done. Geoffrey required the approval of the Chapter, and the endorsement of his abbot or bishop; none of which could be obtained without alerting Bernard. Geoffrey's age was another barrier; he was thirty years old. It was at this juncture that Raynaud, former abbot of Foigny, and William, former abbot of Benedictine Saint-Thierry and now a monk at the Cistercian abbey of Signy, became involved. Arnold of Bonneval appears to have been approached after William's death in 1148. The requirement for Chapter approval relates to the statute, '*Nulli liceat abbati nec monacho, nec novito libros facere, nisi forte cuiquam in generali capitulo concessum fuerit'*. Canivez, *Statuta,* ann. 1134, LVII (1, 26). Canivez's dates are inaccurate. It seems likely that this statute was passed in the 1140s or 1150s. It was renewed in 1202 and 1237. Freeman has noted that the presence of statutes regulating the scriptoria, manner of copying and illuminating, and the monks' behaviour while copying, in addition to the volume of Cistercian historical writing, suggest that this statute was at best unevenly enforced. E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220* (Turnhout, 2002) pp. 91-95. The bishop in question was Godefroy de la Roche Vanneau, a cousin of Bernard and who had also served as prior of Clairvaux.

[28] '*Stabat eminus puer, cui emortuum pendebat a latere brachium, magis illi impedimento quam usui. Quo comperto, innui ut accederet et apprehensam aridam manum applicui ad manum episcopi, et vivificavit eam. Nempe vivebat in mortuo gratia sanitatum, et manus eius fuit mortuae manui quod mortuo homini Elisaeus. Puer ille de longw venerat, et manum quam pendentem attulerat, sanam in patriam reportavit'*. *Vita Malachie* chapter 31, 75, *SBO* III, p. 378, discussed in chapter one.

[29] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 66. For the transmission of the A and B redactions, see *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux* trans. H. Costello, pp. ix-xiv.

[30] For these miracles, see *Vita Prima* Book 5.

[31] By the time Bernard died, Pope Eugenius III had also passed. The knowledge that the circumstances for Bernard's canonisation had become less favourable contributed to the decision of the abbots and bishops gathered to approve Geoffrey's work to instead present themselves as an authors' collective in the prologue. That this representation was made to give the text greater authority is indicated by the transmission of this prologue; it appears only in the version submitted for the first canonisation request. The prologue appears in one of the c. 130 manuscripts extant, miracles added by group in all the manuscripts that contain the full text. Bredero states that 'since the prologue and the other textual variants are found only in the manuscript that was produced between

removed from the other versions. The Anchin manuscript was copied from the codex when it was returned after the Council of Tours.[32]

The absence of posthumous miracles in the other versions of the *vitae* required explanation. The lack of miracles was reportedly an act of obedience to the abbot of Cîteaux, who was concerned by the number of pilgrims at the funeral. These pilgrims would disturb the quiet of the monastery and distract the monks. The *Exordium Magnum*, written between 1190 and 1210, relates that:

> Seeing the enormous problem caused by the swelling crowds and surmising from what was happening what might occur in the future, he [the abbot of Cîteaux] began to worry greatly. For if, due to an increase in miracles, an intolerably large multitude would continue to gather, monastic discipline would be destroyed by the unruly nature of such crowds, and this place would slacken in the zeal of its holy piety.[33]

The suggestion that posthumous miracles would draw pilgrims and disrupt the peace of the cloister appears to fit neatly with Cistercian ideals of removal from the world. The importance of obedience is further emphasised by Conrad's commentary; 'the holy and truly humble soul of our father continued his obedience to a mortal human being even after his physical death'.[34] As noted in Chapter One, Bernard's own writing often emphasised the importance of humility

1163 and 1165 at Anchin, it seems likely that this MS depended on the codex submitted to the pope in 1163'. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 42.

[32] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 67.

[33] Griesser, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense,* II, C. XX, pp. 116-117. '*Enimvero dommus Cisterciensis, qui cum allis pluribus abbatibus sui ordinis ad exequias viri Dei venerate, considerans tantam importunnitatem tumultuantis populi et ex praesentibus future coniciens vehementer timere coepit, ne, si crebrescentibus signis tam intolerabilis illuc populorum turba concurreret, earum improbitate disciplina periret ordinis et sanctae religionis fervor in eodem loco tepesceret. Quapropter habita super hoc deliberation reverenter accedens per virtutem obedientiae, ne signa ulterius faceret, inhibuit. Sed cum dicat apostolus de Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui factus est obediens patri usque ad mortem, et ipsius exemplo legislator noster sanctus Benedictus obedientiam nobis usque ad mortem in regula proponent, sancta et vere humilis anima patris nostril mortali homini etiam post mortem carnis obediens fuit'*. Translation from *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux,* Book 2, Ch. 20. Hereafter *EM*. For a discussion of the dating of this text, see B. P. McGuire, "Structure and Consciousness in the '*Exordium magnum cisterciense'*: The Clairvaux Cistercians after Bernard," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age Grec et Latin* 30, (1979) pp. 33-90, pp. 39-40.

[34] Griesser, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense,* pp. 116-117.

and obedience to the abbot, the Order, and God. In his letters and hagiography, he highlighted the imitable traits of his subjects' virtuous lives.[35]

The prohibition of miracles at the funeral emphasises Bernard's role for his monks rather than the wider public. Conrad is certain 'the abbot of Cîteaux only objected to those miracles that would endanger the discipline in the monastery, as a result of the chaos caused by the multitudes'.[36] Bernard remained an effective intercessor for members of his order. The limits of his power are highlighted in the *EM* which includes a description of a Cistercian abbot attempting to exorcise a possessed woman with Bernard's hair. The devil replied:

> Hey, little abbot, what are you trying to do? What evil are you concocting against me underneath your habit? You are acting vainly and uselessly. Keep your little Bernard. He won't help you at all.[37]

This speech indicates the prohibition was common knowledge, and that he (the devil) had nothing to fear from 'little Bernard'. The possession of the relics by a Cistercian abbot is consistent with the other exorcisms recorded by Conrad in the *EM*. It is interesting, however, that he attempted to use them to help a laywoman. The silence about the result suggests that a cure did not occur. This indicates that the author of this story wanted to present Bernard as valuing obedience to the abbot of Cîteaux above helping lay people who might have turned to him, and introduces an element of ambiguity into his figure as a popular saint outside of the order.

Bernard's cult does not contain the only explanations for the absence of such miracles. The prohibition of posthumous miracles appears to be a trope in Cistercian hagiography, wherein

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[35] For a more detailed discussion of Bernard's writings, see Chapter One.
[36] Griesser, *Exordium magnum* II, C. XX, pp. 116-117.
[37] '*Eia, inquit abbatule, quid vis facere? Quid modo mali contra me sub illa veste tua machinaris? Frustra niteris, in cassum laboras, serva Bernardulum tuum, nec enim proficies quidquam'*. Exordium Magnum Cisterciense II. 20, Griesser, *Exordium magnum,* II, C.XX p. 117. Translation from B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991), p. 172.

the saint in question displays their obedience and humility to the abbot, and pilgrims are viewed as distractions.[38] The *Chronicle of Signy,* a Cistercian monastery in the Ardennes, records an assembly of the monks gathered to rebuke a recently deceased brother, who was performing miracles at his tomb. Their concern is framed around the disruption caused by the pilgrims who disturbed the quiet of the monastery. They are reported as saying:

> In the name of our lord Jesus Christ, we order you to stop performing miracles. Otherwise, we will bury your body outside the monastery, so that the laity can have free access to your tomb, and the brothers be disturbed no more.[39]

The presence of this admonishment in the *Chronicle of Signy*, alongside the record of Bernard's own lack of posthumous miracles, suggests that the fear of the disruptive potential of pilgrims was widespread in the Order, because the monks had internalised their sense of difference and the Order's rhetoric of isolation.

Matthew Paris included a similar story in his *Life of Edmund of Abingdon*. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury from 1233-1240, was never a Cistercian monk, yet his canonisation was actively sought, and his cult was promoted by the order. He was seen, as Licence has claimed, a 'Cistercian in spirit if not in cowl'.[40] After spending some of his exile at the abbey of Pontigny, he expressed the desire to be buried there. During the procession to the abbey, some peasants who managed to touch the bier claimed to have received miraculous cures. When the procession was met by the abbot of Pontigny at the town of Trainel, the abbot 'invoked the saint and commanded him in virtue of obedience [as a *confrater*] to desist from any further miracles until the procession reached home'.[41] Confraternity allowed the

[38] For an extended discussion see Chapter Three.
[39] '*In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, precipimus tibi quatinus a perpetratione miraculorum istorum desistas: alioquin nos corpus tuum extra monasterium sepehemus, ut seculares ad tumulum tuum liberum habeant accessum et ne fratres amplius inquietent'.* 'The Chronicle of Signy', (ed.) L. Delisle, *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, lv (1894) p. 649. Cf. R. Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England', in *Thirteenth Century England V* (eds.) P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1995) pp. 37-52, p. 44.
[40] T. Licence*, Hermits and Recluses in English Society 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011) p. 190.
[41] *The Life of St Edmund of Abingdon By Matthew Paris* (ed.) C. Lawrence (Stroud, 1996) p. 90.

association of individuals or groups with monastic houses which conferred spiritual benefits, usually in return for donations or reciprocal prayers. Obedient to the abbot, Edmund is reported to have ceased performing miracles to allow the procession to continue uninterrupted to Pontigny.

These prohibitions demonstrate how the rhetoric around isolation found in the Order's foundation documents might be carried into effect, and provide a fuller understanding of how far some communities diverged in their treatments of their cults. The very different response of the community at Melrose Abbey in Scotland to the potential for posthumous healing miracles at the tomb of St Walthof will be discussed in Chapter Five. Here it is important to note that while some members of the community presented similar arguments for reducing the appeal of, and access to, the tomb, successive abbots took a more relaxed attitude towards pilgrimage and allowed the laity into the chapter house.[42] To justify this divergence the hagiographer described the competing positions within the community and the eventual decision.

Overall, the presentation of St Bernard in the papal canonisation letters, the description of the abbot of Cîteaux's anxieties about the number of pilgrims present at the funeral, and the failure of Bernard's relics to exorcise a lay woman all point to the attempt of the Order to minimise lay interest in their saint. This is consistent with accounts from other Cistercian saints, wherein pilgrims are portrayed as a distracting and disruptive presence in the monastery, reducing the discipline of the monks, which will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

[42] H. Birkett, 'The struggle for sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century', in Boardman and Williamson (eds.) *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, (Woodbridge, 2010) pp. 43-60.

2. The textual presentation of St Bernard for the Cistercians

The version of St Bernard presented to the monks of Clairvaux retained its disinterest in the possibility of posthumous healing miracles. Instead his sanctity was emphasised via his imitable virtues, and appearances in visions. This pastoral version of the saint focused on his role as abbot, where he could dispense advice and discipline. This is seen in both the Order's hagiography and exempla collections.

The first reference to the cult of St Bernard in the statutes appears in 1159. Statute 7 states that his Office for the Dead was to be celebrated not only at Clairvaux, but also at all houses within its filiation. This implies that Bernard was celebrated only at Clairvaux between 1153 and 1159. Waddell notes the 1159 celebration was:

> celebrated with less solemnity than the four solemn anniversaries, for which the psalms are sung standing. A lower liturgical rank is suggested here, since the abbot does not intone the first antiphon of the first nocturne as he normally does on more solemn occasions.[43]

The 1159 veneration came at the request of Abbot Robert, previously abbot of Ter Duinen, who had succeeded Fastredus as abbot of Clairvaux. Robert received permission from the General Chapter for Bernard's veneration as a saint during daily choral prayers, and the celebration of his feast day.[44] At this point, prior to Bernard's canonisation, such celebration was restricted to houses in Clairvaux's filiation. This is despite the perception of Bernard as a saint during his lifetime; preparations for a v*ita* were begun in the 1140s by Bernard's secretary, Geoffrey of Auxerre. The presence of a Cistercian incumbent on the papal throne in the person of Eugenius III must have led the authors to expect a favourable hearing, and Bernard's poor health in 1145 may have raised expectations of his death during Eugenius' pontificate.[45]

[43] 1159, s. 7, p. 71.
[44] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 43.
[45] Ibid., p. 35.

Following the canonisation, the General Chapter legislated for the wider celebration of Bernard's feast day.[46] The patience of the Chapter in waiting for papal canonisation before authorising the wider celebration of Bernard's cult can be compared to the delay in Becket's cult. In 1171 John of Salisbury wrote to the bishop of Poitiers describing the murder, and asking whether it was permissible to treat Thomas as a martyr in the mass and public prayers without the authority of the pope, or to continue to say the office of the dead. John seems to suggest the latter would dishonour Thomas, but it was at time difficult to travel to Rome.[47] John's letter to the archbishop of Sens similarly suggests people should not be venerated as saints without papal approval.[48] Here the impact of the evolving canonisation procedures and greater authority of the papacy can be seen in the development of saints' cults.

The statutes of the General Chapter often reflect different levels of celebration and geographical limitations for cults. Monasteries were permitted two proper feasts over those of the Cistercian calendar; the anniversary of the dedication of their own church, and the feast of the patron of the diocese. There is, however, a collection of statutes that state the derogations to this rule.[49] Before 1174 the only mention of Bernard's celebration was from 1159, mentioned above. This change illustrates the level of control the chapter had over the liturgical calendar, but also the reluctance to add a saint before gaining papal approval.

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[46] This is stated in the *Chronicon* of Clairvaux. The impact of the incorporation of the new feast day is outlined in 1184, s. 8, pp. 115-6. This statute 'brings together directives concerning Marian formulas […] since the Bernardine liturgical reform which ended ca. 1147, Marian hymns had been assigned to Terce and Compline for Marian feasts as well as throughout the Octave of the Assumption'. The statute is concerned about the presence of two 12-lesson days during the Octave; the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension, and since 1174 the feast of St Bernard. The proper Office of St Bernard is also mentioned in the Vauclair series in statute 93, datable to 1175, p. 658.
[47] Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints', p. 20. PL 199 col. 359.
[48] PL 199 col. 362.
[49] The statutes make it possible to trace the development of other feast days. The feast of St Malachy was discussed by the General Chapter in 1191 and 1192. In 1190 the celebration of his cult at Clairvaux had been approved by Pope Clement II, and statute 60 from the next year extended this to the entire Order, and moved the feast day to the 5 November to avoid conflict with All Souls' Day (1191, s. 60, p. 232). At the time the celebration of the feast was extended the Order was reluctant to accept newly composed offices. Instead Malachy was assigned the office identical to St Gregory the Great (12 March), appropriate for a bishop confessor. In 1192 the first statute changed this office and mass to those of St Nicholas, bishop confessor (6 December) (1192, s. 1, p. 235). The extant statutes sanctioning variation in the liturgical calendar will be discussed further in Chapter Six with regards to the evolving structure and authority of the Chapter.

The documents created to elevate Bernard to sainthood were intertwined. That they shared an objective, to limit the possible influx of pilgrims seeking to venerate Bernard at his tomb, is evidence that Bernard's ideas about the disruption caused by tomb cults were shared by his contemporaries. The period between 1153 and 1174 saw an evolution in views of Bernard's sainthood, with differing perspectives from those who remembered Bernard as an abbot, and those attempting to have him canonized. The latter placed more emphasis on Bernard's work in the wider church.[50] This is reflected in the background of the writers of the *VP* of St Bernard, Geoffrey of Auxerre and Raynaud of Foigny who worked closely with Bernard as his secretaries, and the Benedictine monks William of Saint-Thierry and Arnold of Bonneval, who knew Bernard through his work outside the Order and who would not be accountable to the General Chapter for what they wrote.[51] While the authors of the *VP* and *VS* emphasised different aspects of Bernard's life, there appears to have been a common goal in reducing potential interest in pilgrimage to Clairvaux.

The reshaping of the *VP* demonstrates how the impact of the changing procedures and increasing papal control at the end of the twelfth century affected the criteria by which cults were established and accepted. The increasing centralisation gave the papacy the right to examine the cults it was asked to approve; the resulting enquiries into the prospective saint's life and miracles changed the emphasis of hagiography. Fewer miracles that were better attested were preferable to a multitude where no witnesses could be produced.[52] Alexander

[50] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 19.
[51] Ibid., pp. 26-28.
[52] 993 is the traditional date for the start of pontifical canonisation. By the Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 62 of the Council of Mainz (813), the *princeps* who authorised the veneration of new cults was referring to the pope, rather than the Carolingian emperor. After the decretals of Gregory IX were published in 1243, episcopal canonisations disappeared. See A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, [1988] 1997), M. Goodich, 'The Judicial Foundations of Hagiography in the Central Middle Ages', In E. Renard, M. Trigdet, X. Hermand and P. Bertand (eds.) *Scribere Sanctorum gesta: Recuil d'etudes d'hagiographie medievale offert a Guy Phillipart* (Turnhout, 2005) pp. 627-644. For these prerequisites for canonisation as forms of symbolic capital, see K. Sykes, 'Sanctity as a form of social capital', In P. Clarke and T. Claydon (eds.) *Saints and Sanctity* (Woodbridge, 2011) pp. 112-124.

III's letters from 1174 follow the Order's representation of Bernard as an important figure in both the growth of the Order and contemporary political affairs, and refrain from discussing any posthumous healing miracles. At the same time, the General Chapter refrained from encouraging the celebration of Bernard's feast day beyond Clairvaux until the canonisation had been secured.

The complicated history of the *vitae* and their relationship to the canonisation process led to the involvement of a range of authors. These men had different backgrounds, and different levels of acquaintance with Bernard. They presented Bernard and his miracles in different ways. During his lifetime Bernard himself was seen as 'a practical wonder-worker', who performed hundreds of curative miracles. Holdsworth has counted 176 episodes in the *VP* that can be described as miraculous; visions, prophecies, healings, and other unusual happenings. They are unevenly spread throughout the *vita,* with 38 episodes in work written by William, 18 by Arnold, and 120 by Geoffrey, though he did organise an entire book around Bernard as a wonder-worker.[53] Due to the chronology covered by each author, this means that the majority of the miracles occurred between 1143 and 1153.[54] There is also a geographical split; most of those described by William occurred at Clairvaux, whilst Arnold focused on miracles in Italy during the schism of the 1130s. Geoffrey tells us the miracles often ceased when Bernard returned to Clairvaux or visited other Cistercian houses, partly to spare the brethren any disruption. Ward notes Bernard is portrayed as realising that 'the interest of the monks was in a different kind of wonder: the inner miracles of prayer and salvation'.[55]

[53] C. Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard: What kind of saint?' In J. Loades (ed.) *Monastic Studies*: *The Continuity of Tradition* (Bangor, 1990) pp. 86-101, p. 89. Geoffrey's book focused on Bernard as wonder-worker is Book 4. These miracles included Bernard's gift of spiritual predictions, bilocation (4.4), exorcism (4.7), substances blessed by Bernard that then work at a distance from him, especially bread (4.23), physical healings (blindness, deafness, lameness, paralysis, and miscellaneous illness. See *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, pp. xxx-xxxiii.
[54] 14 out of 38 before 1113, 2 between 1123 and 1132, 16 between 1133 and 1142. 81 of 120 between 1143 and 1153.
[55] Ward, 'Miracles in the Middle Ages', p. 158.

The miracles themselves indicate the authors' understanding of Bernard's interests and priorities. William was born in 1085 in Liège, and had been a monk of Saint Nicoise before becoming the abbot of Saint-Thierry, then a monk at Signy. He first met Bernard at Clairvaux in around 1128, when both men were ill.[56] He drew upon Geoffrey and Raynaud of Foigny's notes, the *Fragmenta Gaufridi*, for his contribution, rewriting and adding his own memories of their relationship.[57] Book One of the *VP* describes Aelth's dream and presents Bernard's persuasive preaching as a fulfilment of that prophecy.[58] It also mentions the famous letter to Robert, miraculously unharmed in the rain, and William's own encounters with Bernard.[59]

Arnold of Bonneval was a monk of Marmoutier before becoming abbot of Bonneval. Costello notes Arnold was unlikely to have known Bernard personally. He was unable to visit Clairvaux when Bernard was dying, but reportedly 'sent him a gift of delicacies'.[60] His contribution, Book Two, is less concerned with the force of Bernard's personality. Instead Bernard's social and political authority, during the papal schism and as a mediator between Count Theobald of Blois and King Louis VII, are highlighted. The miracles discussed by Arnold demonstrate the impact of the intended audience on the format of the miracle. In his account of Bernard's activities in Milan in 1135, Arnold tells us that due to the city's ecclesiastical aberrations, demons 'had been infesting very many [people], with free reign'.[61] While in Milan Bernard performed many exorcisms, public expressions of his power in contrast

[56] Costello, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. xiv.
[57] Ibid., p. xvii.
[58] Ibid., p. xx.
[59] Letter 1, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* pp. 1-10. Costello, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. xxii.
[60] *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. xv. Geoffrey of Auxerre reports that Bernard sent a letter of thanks, *Vita Prima* Book 5, Chapters 9-10. *SBO* VIII Epistle 310, also found as Letter 469 in *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* trans. B. S. James.
[61] *Vita prima* Book 2, chapter 2. P. 11 P. L. 185 col. 275 b-c, Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 134. Bernard's miracles in Milan are also described in the *Historia Mediolanensis* by Landulf of San Paolo. Landulf was a Milanese chronicler who lived from roughly 1077 to 1136/7. C. Bratu, "Landulf of San Paolo," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, (ed.) G. Dunphy, (Brill Online, 2016). For a history of the papal schism see B. Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 119–20. For the history of the Milanese role in the conflict between the German emperors and the papacy in the eleventh century see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1968) pp. 25–48.

to his behind-the-scenes efforts to reconcile the Milanese Church.[62] In contrast the miracles associated with Cistercian monks demonstrate the efficacy of Bernard's prayers, and highlight his presence in the cloister of Clairvaux even while travelling throughout Europe. This can be seen in the increase in visions reported by members of the community during the 1130s and recounted in the exempla collections.[63]

The presentation of Bernard in the hagiography affected his appearance in Cistercian exempla collections. In these didactic texts intended for novices, Bernard's sanctity is evinced through his appearance in visions to the brethren wherein he dispensed advice or discipline, rather than posthumous healing miracles that occurred at his tomb. A large proportion of these collections were written during the second half of the twelfth century, at Clairvaux or one of its foundations.[64] The first collection, *Collectaneum exemplorum et visionum Clarevallense*, may have been started while Geoffrey of Auxerre was abbot of Clairvaux in 1165. The activity could be related to Geoffrey of Auxerre's interest in the miracles and visions relation to Bernard. He started collecting materials for the *vita* in 1145, and among his works are two collections of exempla.[65] The collections borrowed stories from within and without the Order; Mula suggests that taken together they were intended to build an idealised Cistercian Order.[66] Such an ideal can be linked to the combined roles of Bernard and Malachy as the ideal monk and bishop, with Clairvaux as a centre for reformed monasticism, evident in the building campaigns at the monastery which will be discussed below.

When the collections addressed the miracles Bernard performed for members of the Order, they tended to include anecdotal stories that focused on his relationship with fellow monks.[67]

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[62] Carlson, 'The Practical Theology of Saint Bernard', p. 134
[63] Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard: What kind of saint?' pp. 90-92.
[64] The Cistercian exempla collections will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.
[65] S. Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution', *History Compass*, 8 (2010) pp. 903–912, p. 905.
[66] Ibid., p. 909.
[67] Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 28. B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint,* p. 171.

Exempla collections were written for an internal audience, and were intended to build friendship and unanimity between the monks.[68] In addition to creating a sense of harmony between the brethren through a sense of shared history and community, the collections described individual friendships. These were often expressed through stories in which two people agree that whichever of them dies first will come back and tell the other about the afterlife. These stories demonstrate the power of 'personal, emotional relationships' that could remain important after death.[69] In the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, for example, an abbot agrees to come back to 'a monk whom he loved more closely than the rest' and the nun Acselina to a 'spiritual sister in the convent singularly beloved by her'.[70]

Rather than a political figure, in these collections Bernard is seen primarily as an abbot, concerned with his monks' well-being.[71] The *Liber visionum et miraculorum Clarevallensium*, written by Herbert of Clairvaux at some point between 1170 and 1180, for example, includes reports in which Bernard had appeared in visions to individual monks.[72] Herbert includes 93 visions in his collection; Bernard appears in 19 of them, the most prominent individual, second in number of appearances only to demons who appear in 20 accounts.[73] Bernard's prominence is likely due to the provenance of the collection; he was canonised only four years before Herbert began writing the collection, and Herbert probably received stories from monks who knew Bernard personally. The visions are a source for teaching, correction, temptation, and

[68] Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections', p. 906.
[69] C. Rider, 'Agreements to Return from the Afterlife in Late Medieval Exempla' *Studies in Church History,* 45, (2009) pp. 174-183, p. 175.
[70] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, with an introduction by G.G. Coulton, 2 vols (London, 1929) Vol 2, p. 320, 332.
[71] The miracles of another filiation-founding saint, St Stephen of Obazine (d.1159) also tended to take the form of visions. The third book of the *vita* focuses on the saint's death, burial and subsequent miracles. The visions experienced by the monks and nuns resident in the communities Stephen founded, and reassert the discipline and devotional behaviour he had insisted upon while alive. M. G. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge, 1999) p. 8.
[72] PL 185 cols. 1273-1384. For further discussion, see Chapter Four.
[73] Casey, 'Herbert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', p. 53. Casey counts visions involving demons (20), St Bernard (19), Christ (18), Angels (11), the Virgin Mary (9), St John the Evangelist (4), St Mary Magdalen (3), St Malachy (2), St Augustine (2), the Trinity (1), the Apostles (1), St Elizabeth (1), St Paul (1), and St Benedict (1).

conversion. Bernard often appears as a mediator and source of reassurance.[74] Herbert also includes stories from Bernard's life; when he redeemed a robber from the gallows; recruited students from Paris; made a heretic appear foolish; commanded death to wait until morning; and gave a prophecy about a novice thinking of leaving.[75] Each of the stories included are more relevant to life in the community than descriptions of Bernard's work in the wider church.

Nearly half of the stories in the *Exordium Magnum* are borrowed from Herbert's collection. Bernard is also a significant figure in ten chapters of the *DM* by Caesarius of Heisterbach. Casey notes whether these shared stories come directly from Herbert, a parallel written or oral source, or the *EM*, is difficult to ascertain and may vary between each instance.[76] Three of these chapters can be found in the *VP*. These are the conversion of Mascelin, cleric of the bishop of Mainz, the false conversion of Stephen of Vitry, and Bernard's battle with an incubus demon at Nantes.[77] While Bernard appears in visions related in the *DM*, admonishing a novice who found it difficult to stay awake during Sunday vigils,[78] and strengthening the will of abbots reluctant to do their duty,[79] in this collection he is associated more strongly with conversion in the first book. Bernard is remembered for encouraging recruits to the order, and McGuire has suggested Bernard's absences from Clairvaux could be recast in this light.[80] Bernard is integrated into larger stories as a matter of course to highlight the values of the order, the importance of conversion, the value of confession, Bernard's success is securing the faith of the laity and performing exorcisms.[81] As in the *VP,* Bernard's activities as a public figure had

[74] Casey, 'Herbert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', p. 58.
[75] Ibid., p. 60. *De Miraculis* 1.18/ PL 185 col. 1203C, *De Miraculis* 3.32/ PL 185 cols. 1377-88, *De Miraculis* 2.15/ PL 185 cols. 1324-5, *De Miraculis* 2.15/ PL 185 cols. 1326-7, *De Miraculis* 2.14/ PL 185 cols. 453-5.
[76] Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', p. 45.
[77] *Dialogus Miraculorum* I.8, I.9, III.7. *Vita prima*, PL 185 cols. 330, 263, 287-88.
[78] *Dialogus Miraculorum* 2.21, PL 185 cols. 1330-1.
[79] *Dialogus Miraculorum* 2. 26, PL 185, cols. 1334-5.
[80] McGuire, *The Difficult Saint,* p. 179.
[81] Ibid., p. 181.

to be reconciled with his role as abbot, but Caesarius appears confident that Bernard's devotion to his monks and the church provided no contradiction.

Overall, it is possible to see aspects of Bernard's hagiographic representation as being in keeping with the opinion he expressed during his lifetime. In the preface of the *vita Malachie* Bernard wrote that:

> It is indeed always worthwhile to portray the illustrious lives of the saints that they may serve as a mirror and an example, and give, as it were, a relish to the life of men on earth. For by this means in some sort they live among us, even after death, and many of those who are dead while they live are challenged and recalled to true life.[82]

The miracles Bernard performed during his lifetime were more commonly performed for lay people, away from Clairvaux or other Cistercian houses. The lack of publicity for posthumous miracles for lay people corresponded with his opinions on the appropriateness of pilgrimage, and his own actions with regard to the promotion of St Malachy's cult, described in Chapter One. The shift in the exempla collections towards the presentation of Bernard's relationships with his fellow monks, rather than as a political figure involved in disputes of the wider Church, corresponds with the audience of such collections, and their interests. In these collections, Bernard is a reassuring figure, who appears to individuals when they most need encouragement. His absences during his tenure as abbot are ameliorated by his appearance in visions. The presence of a strong oral tradition within the monasteries, in addition to the borrowing of stories between collections, reinforced the similarities in the presentation of Bernard's sainthood.

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[82] '*Semper quidem operae pretium fuit illustres Sanctorum describere vitas, ut sint in speculum et exemplum, ac quoddam veluti condimentum vitae hominum super terram. Per hoc enim quodammodo apud nos etiam post mortem vivunt, multosque ex his, qui viventes mortui sunt, ad veram provocant et revocant vitam', Vita Malachie, Praefatio*, *SBO* III, p. 307. Translation from H. J. Lawler *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy* (London, 1920) p. 1.

3. *The physical setting of St Bernard's cult at Clairvaux*

It has been established that Bernard was presented in different ways according to the author and their audience. The canonisation letters focused on his political career, as did Arnold of Bonneval's contribution to the *VP*, for example. The exempla collections, on the other hand, emphasised Bernard's pastoral role as abbot, appearing in visions to Cistercian monks to offer encouragement and advice. The narrative documents consistently minimised any potential pilgrimage possibilities for the cult. This chapter will now consider the physical setting for his body and the role of architecture in his cult, before turning towards the possible dispersal of contact relics in the last section. It will be argued the space around Bernard's tomb and the regulation of access to it created the conditions for the cult, and restricted access to the community, in line with the position on posthumous miracles taken in most of the texts.

The physical setting of Bernard's cult must be related to Malachy's, to understand how the cult functioned in the abbey and in conjunction with the hagiography. Clairvaux's desire to be recognised as the new centre for reform can be linked to the cult of St Malachy, instigated by Bernard. Malachy was buried in the oratory of the Virgin Mary in the second church.[83] Bernard instituted an official cult for St Malachy, switching vestments with the dead man, and writing two offices and a *vita*.[84] Bernard saw Malachy as an exemplary bishop due to his personal virtue, and he intended the cult to serve as an inspiration for the community, rather than become a source of public pilgrimage. To this end, only one posthumous miracle was recorded.[85] It seems the community followed this model for Bernard's cult, limiting the miracles centred on the tomb. The dates given in the *Liber Alterium* confirm that the building of Clairvaux III began

[83] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 54. '*In ipso oratorio santae Dei genetricis Mariae' Vita Malachie* 1. 19, *SBO III* p. 378. Note that Geoffrey used a similar term for Bernard's burial, '*oratorio beatae Dei Genitricis infertur*', *Vita Prima*, 5, PL 185, col 359.
[84] See Chapter One, Section 1.
[85] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 62.

before Bernard's death. The burial of Malachy and his unofficial cult may have changed the function of the abbey church and provided the impetus for the new construction.[86]

When Bernard died in 1153 he was buried in the second abbey church of Clairvaux (also referred to as Clairvaux II). The building of this new church was mentioned in the second book of the *VP*, by Arnold of Bonneval. In the discussion Arnold relates, the monks were concerned the existing buildings were too small for the increasing size of the community. Bernard objected, noting the effort and expense the community had already put into building the precinct, and the perception people might have should they move; the world might think them wealthy or frivolous.[87] Bernard was persuaded by his monks that if God was sending the monastery such a volume of recruits, he must expect them to rebuild. Gajewski notes that Arnold must have been writing during the construction of the third church of Clairvaux. The position of the story within Arnold's section of the *vita*, between two descriptions of Bernard's travels in Italy, indicates its importance. The scene is out of chronological sequence. Arnold has included the discussion to portray Bernard's commitment to his principle of monastic poverty, and justify the relocation.[88] Comments in the *Fragmenta Gaufridi* date the dedication to between 1117 and 1145.[89]

[86] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 70.
[87] A. Gajewski, 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey: Saint Bernard and the Cistercian principle of conspicuous poverty' in T. Kinder (ed) *Perspectives for an architecture of solitude: Essays on Cistercian art and architecture in honour of Peter Fergusson* (Cîteaux, 2004) pp. 71-80, p. 71. '*Videtis, inquit, quia multis expensis et sudoriubs iam domus lapidae consummatae sunt, aquaeductus cum maximus sumptibus per singulas officinas traducti. Si haec omnia confregerimus, poterunt homines saeculi male de nobis sentire, quod aut leves sumus et mutabiles; aut nimiae, quas tamen non habemus, divitae nos faciunt insanire'. Vita prima,* Book 2, PL 185, 1, Col 285 A.
[88] Gajewski, 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey', p. 72.
[89] Ibid., p. 78, fn 48, Both Bernard and a monk named Bartholomew had visions of the location of the new church, Bernard's in the year that his cell was built, perhaps 1117. Geoffrey also reports that the dedication had taken place.

The construction of Clairvaux III began in 1152, prompted again by the size of the community, but also the burial of Malachy and Pope Eugenius' visit in 1147.[90] The buildings' progression is outlined in the *Liber altarium:*

> In the year of our Lord 1157, four years after the death of our reverend father Bernard, and the fifth year after the beginning (work) of the church, eight altars were consecrated in the eastern area of the said church, near the high altar. [91]

Dublin Codex 10708, a fifteenth-century manuscript, contains the *Liber De Consecratione Altarium*, *Liber Sepulchorum*, and verse epitaphs for various abbots of Clairvaux and Cîteaux.[92] Colker notes the main heading suggests that the *Liber Altarium* was based on a register kept in the sacristy of Clairvaux.[93] The *Liber Altarium* identifies the altars at the monastery, and their relics, when and by whom consecrated, for the altars at Clairvaux between 1157 and 1336.[94] This includes bones of Abraham and Jeremiah; the beard of St Peter and a shoe of Jesus; the table of the Last Supper; the bloodied garment of St Thomas of Canterbury; and the rock on which the Virgin dined with the disciples of Jesus. The manuscript says its exemplar contained other relics now unreadable due to age, and bad handwriting (with regards relics from

[90] Gajewski, 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey', p. 79.
[91] '*L'année de l'Incarnation du Seigneur de 1157, quatre ans après la mort de notre révérend père Bernard et la cinquième année après le début [des travaux] de l'église, huit autels furent consacrés dans la zone orientale de la dite église, près du maitre-autel'*. E. C. Santamaria, 'Autour de Saint Bernard. Chronologie et Implications Spatiales du Culte des Reliques à Clairvaux', *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses*, 64, (2013) pp. 187-97, p. 190, my translation.
[92] M. L, Colker, 'The *Liber Altarium* and *Liber Sepulchorum* of Clairvaux (in a Newly Discovered Manuscript)', *Sacris Erudiri*, 41 (2002), pp. 391-466. In the manuscript: Pp. 1-20 *Liber De Consecratione Altarium*, pp. 20-52 *Liber Sepulchorum*, pp. 40-45 Verse epitaphs for successive abbots of Clairvaux, p. 47 list of abbots from St Bernard to John of Aizanville, pp. 47-51 verse epitaphs for abbots of Cîteaux, p. 51 verse epitaph for abbot Phillip of Clairvaux (1262-73), pp. 51-52 epitaph for Geoffrey of Joinville, p. 52 notice about tomb of William of Joinville, archbishop of Rhiems, d 1226), pp. 53-88 acts and notices about chapels and altars at Clairvaux, added in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[93] Colker, 'The *Liber Altarium* and *Liber Sepulchorum',* p. 394. '*Que sequntiur [sic] de consecratione altarium in ecclesis Clarevallis existantium [sic] extracta sunt de quondam registro sacriste antiqua littera scripto hoc mondo'.*
[94] Ibid., p. 395.

Ireland).[95] The *Liber Sepulchorum* lists tombs constructed at Clairvaux up to 1327, including those of Bernard and Malachy, and Bernard's mother Aelth, and Margaret, Queen of Navarre.[96]

Waddell noted that Bernard's eventual burial in the oratory, rather than the chapter house as was customary for abbots, was a mark of respect.[97] Members of the Order who had held ecclesiastical dignities could be buried in the abbey church, but abbots were more often buried in the chapter house or cloister. Bernard's successors, Gerard (d.1175) and Peter Monoculus (d.1185) were buried next to the entrance of the church, and Robert (d.1157) and Serlo of Savigny (d.1158) were buried in the next wall niche.[98] In Bernard's case, locating the tomb in the church rather than the chapter house was not done to allow greater access to potential pilgrims, but instead to reinforce the importance the community of Clairvaux placed upon him. In setting his tomb next to that of Malachy, the ideal bishop, the men together symbolised Bernard's ideal of a reformed church.[99] This corroborates the textual evidence from the *vita Malachie* and *VP* both of which highlighted the compatibility of monastic virtues and an active life in the church, and the importance of a virtuous life over posthumous miracles.

The bodies of Bernard and Malachy were kept in a chapel on the south side of the transept of Clairvaux III for four years. At the General Chapter of 1178 Abbot Henry of Clairvaux invited the abbots to attend the elevation and translation of Bernard's remains to their final tomb behind the high altar. The translation took place under the auspices of Guichard, the archbishop of Lyons, and former abbot of Pontigny.[100] On 6 July 1190 Pope Clement III

[95] See pp. 1-20 in Dublin Codex 10708.
[96] See pp. 20-52 in Dublin Codex 10708.
[97] C. Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux' in *Saint Bernard and Le Monde Cistercien* ed L. Pressouyre and T. N. Kinder (Paris, 1992) pp. 141-148, p. 141.
[98] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 41.
[99] M. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, CA, 1996) pp. 169-170.
[100] Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 142.

canonised Malachy; his translation was celebrated the following year, though the body may have been moved earlier.[101]

The shrines were destroyed in 1793, and the abbey church between 1812 and 1817, and so the architectural setting of the relics has been lost.[102] A surviving description of Bernard's tomb dates from 1517. Phillipa of Gueldern, queen of Sicily, together with Count of Guise and his wife, visited Clairvaux and were received by the prior and monks. The guests inspected the relic collection.[103] There were three marble altar-shrines behind the main altar, placed between the columns of the hemicycle. Bernard was in the centre, Malachy on the north side, and the relics of several martyr-saints, added in 1226, on the south. Nine altars could be found in the radiating chapels, and the tombs of bishops and cardinals, buried in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[104] The description of marble shrines suggests that these were the tombs

[101] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 77. The *Exordium Magnum* mentions that Cardinal Henry (d. 1189) wished to be buried between Bernard and Malachy, PL 185 Col. 1044.
[102] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 51.
[103] Ibid., p, 47.
[104] Ibid., p. 51.

commissioned by Abbot Henry for the 1178 translation, though in the intervening years changes may have been made.[105]

Figure 1 shows the altar tombs of Bernard (1), the relics of SS Eutropius, Zosima and Bonosa, brought from Italy in 1226 (2), Malachy (3), the retro-choir (4), and the high altar, dedicated to the Virgin (5). Fergusson has shown that the chapels in the chevet form a polygonal outer wall, modelled on Roman burial churches,[106] and Schlink has pointed out the three-tiered elevation appears closely related to the third church at Cluny.[107]

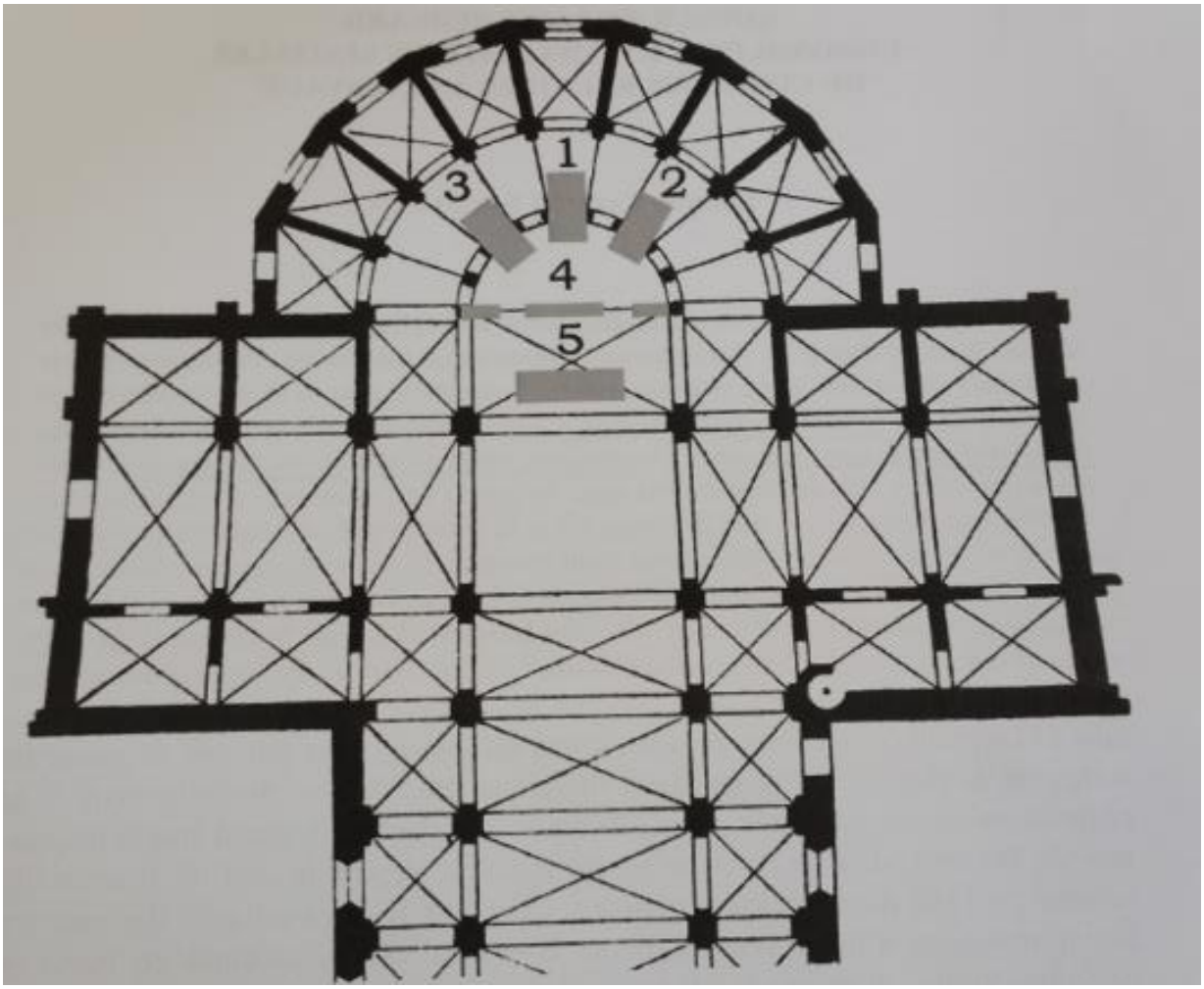

Figure 1 Reconstruction of the layout of the tombs in the church of Clairvaux III.

[105] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 45.
[106] P. Fergusson, 'Programmatic Factors in the East Extension of Clairvaux', *Arte Medievale*, 8, (1994), pp. 87-101.
[107] W. Schlink, *Zwischen Cluny und Clairvaux* (Berlin, 1970) pp. 138-41.

This similarity may have been intended to make a statement of austerity through comparison. Descriptions of the third abbey church at Clairvaux suggest a conscious decision on the part of the community to display the monastery as the new centre for reformed monasticism. Nothing is known about the interior decoration of the church, or its stained glass and furnishings. On other occasions the General Chapter criticised excessive decoration; in 1192 the abbot of Clairvaux was reprimanded for failing to intervene and prevent the construction of overly sumptuous buildings at its daughter house, Vaucelles.[108] There is no evidence the new church at Clairvaux was thus criticised, perhaps because the interior reflected Cistercian liturgical simplicity, and the larger building was required by the community. The ambulatory design is associated with the display of relics, but the number of chapels was equally 'appropriate for an order where more and more monks were priests',[109] and the number of monks was increasing.[110] Gajewski notes by the end of the twelfth century Cîteaux, Morimond, and Pontigny, the other heads of filiations, had also replaced the east ends of their churches with larger ambulatory choirs, reflecting this trend.[111]

Overall, the physical setting for Bernard's cult can be understood in conjunction with the hagiographic representations of Bernard, and the role of Malachy's cult at Clairvaux. Gajewski suggests that 'Bernard's cult, like that of Malachy, may have been aimed at monks rather than the wider public'.[112] Given the design of the new chevet at Clairvaux III as a shrine to the two reformers, but the lack of publicised miracles centred on the tombs, it seems clear that the community saw Bernard as a saint and revered him as such. Access to the tombs, however, was restricted to the community, and, as will be explored below, few relics were distributed. The architectural model chosen for the new church may have been modelled on Cluny and

[108] 1192, s. 29, p. 247.
[109] L. Grant, 'Savigny and its Saints' in T. Kinder (ed) *Perspectives for an architecture of solitude: Essays on Cistercian art and architecture in honour of Peter Fergusson* (Cîteaux, 2004) pp. 109-114, at p. 110.
[110] Santamaria, 'Autour de Saint Bernard', p. 197.
[111] Gajewski 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey', p. 80.
[112] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 74.

functioned as a reliquary for Bernard and Malachy, but this message was intended for the monks.

4. The dispersal of St Bernard's relics

The restriction of Bernard's cult to the Cistercian Order seems clear in the absence of posthumous healing miracles for the laity. The emphasis on Bernard's role in political events such as the schism of the 1130s in the canonisation letters, however, reminds us that there was a tension in the audience for the cult. This is evident in the treatment and dissemination of the relics of St Bernard, within and without the order. The importance of Bernard's post-mortem materiality for his cult will now be explored through the role given to his relics, versus the preponderance of visions in the miracles attributed to him.

At each of Bernard's burials, in 1153, 1174, and 1178, the opportunity to collect contact relics or bones arose. After the initial burial contact relics were collected by the community, such as the rush mat the saint had laid upon, the cowl he wore, and the water used to wash the body.[113] The community continued to celebrate mass with chalices used by Bernard and Malachy.[114] An inventory from 1640 states that these chalices, along with Bernard's vestments, were still in use, kept in a cabinet in the treasury.[115] But these items were not readily dispersed. Though it was never claimed that Bernard's body was incorrupt, his bones were guarded. The tomb in which Bernard settled in the third church of Clairvaux was a reliquary-shrine with a dedicated altar.[116] The accounts of the relic's translations during the French Revolution suggest that until that point all the bones, bar a finger sent to Henry II of England which will be returned to below, were kept together at Clairvaux. In the sixteenth century, when Tristan de Bizet

[113] Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 141.
[114] Santamaria, 'Autour de Saint Bernard', p. 194.
[115] A. E. Lester, 'Le Tresor de Clairvaux', in A. Baudin, N. Dohrmann et L. Veyssiere (eds.) *Clairvaux : l'aventure cistercienne* (Aube, 2015) pp. 213-223.
[116] Santamaria, 'Autour de Saint Bernard', p. 193.

(d.1576), bishop of Saintes, previously abbot of Signy and monk of Clairvaux, provided a special cabinet for a relic, the brothers authorised the translation of the saint's cowl only, leaving the bones in their altar tomb.[117]

Bernard's fame as an exorcist was such that after his death, his relics were used to cast out demons, but these miracles were reserved for members of the order. At some point in the mid-1150s, the devil was reputed to have invaded a brother at Esrum and caused fits. In response relics of St Bernard, hair from his head and beard and a tooth, brought to Esrum by archbishop Eskil earlier that year were placed on the possessed man's chest.[118] This caused the devil to cry out 'take it away, take it away, remove Bernard […] alas, how heavy you have become, Bernard, how weighty, how unbearable you are for me'.[119] McGuire points out how Bernard's relics enabled him to continue to exercise power over life in Cistercian monasteries.[120] The continued use of his relics and appearance in exempla demonstrates how important Bernard was in the Cistercian imagination after his death, and that some relics of St Bernard were being circulated within the order. This incident can be contrasted with the powerlessness of 'little Bernard' mentioned above. These stories together demonstrate the different effectiveness Bernard was intended to have for different audiences. Thus Bernard's relics were successfully used in the exorcism of a Cistercian monk, but not in that of a lay woman.

In an apparent contradiction, Bernard's relics were on occasion gifted to those outside of the order; Henry II of England received a finger bone in the 1170s, in return for a gift of lead

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[117] '*Au XVI siècle encoure, lorsqu'un coffret du même type fut offert dans le même but par un dévot de Bernard, l'évêque de Saints, Tristan de Bizet, les moines n'autorisèrent la translation dans ce réceptacle que d'une relique indirecte, la coule du saint ; les ossements demeurèrent donc dans leur autel-tombeau, l'intérieur de l'église'*. Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 143.

[118] *Vita Prima* Book 4 chapters 26-7, PL. 185 cols. 335-37 '*De capillis et barba, et dentem unum beati patris nostril Bernardi afferri monet, et ejus pectori superpoini*'. St Bernard was not the only Cistercian saint to have his hair preserved and dispersed as a relic. St Stephen of Obazine (d. 1159) incorporated his community into the order in around 1147. His facial hair was preserved as a relic even before his death. *Vie de saint Etienne d'Obazine,* pp. 198-9.

[119] '*Tollite, tollite, amovete Bernardum… Heu, quam ponderosus facus es, Bernarde! Quam gravis, quam intolerabilis factus es mihi!' Vita prima*, Book 4, chapters 26-7. PL 185 cols. 335-7.

[120] McGuire, *The Difficult Saint*, pp. 125-6.

for the church roof at Clairvaux.[121] This gift was accompanied by a request that the relic remain in the reliquary, and be preserved from excessive handling. The decision to gift the relic given the community's reluctance to do so in other circumstances, and the depiction of Bernard's miracles as less-than-efficacious for lay people, indicates the importance of the relationship with Henry II. Savigny was the head of a congregation of abbeys that joined the Cistercians in 1147.[122] The gift of the relic came after several meetings between the king and St Hamo of Savigny at the end of the 1160s.[123] At that time Henry had granted several vineyards to the abbey.[124] A gap in the royal charters from 1162 to 1170 corresponds to Thomas Becket's exile at Pontigny, where Edmund of Abingdon later fled, and was buried. The meeting between the papal legates and Henry's ambassadors that marked the end of the conflict caused by Becket's murder was held at Savigny, before the ceremony at Avranches in 1172.[125] The gift of the relic in the later 1170s, may have marked the restoration of friendlier relations between Henry II and the monks.

Relics of St Bernard were claimed by other monasteries, some of which were contact relics, such as crooks and staffs used by Bernard on his travels around Europe.[126] A twelfth-century relic list from Reading Abbey includes relics of both Bernard and Malachy.[127] BL Egerton 3031 records 230 items, separated into the following categories: of the True Cross (1-28), of

[121] N. Vincent, *Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001) p. 139. Heathcote, 'The Letter Collection Attributed to Master Transmundus', pp. 35- 109.
[122] See Chapter Three.
[123] L. E. M. Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' *Journal of Medieval History,* 30, 1, (2004), pp. 45-60. The cults at Savigny will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.
[124] 1157 (Cartulary, fo. 138*d*.), 824. 'La Manche: Part 2', in *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918-1206*, ed. J Horace Round (London, 1899), pp. 281-308. *British History Online* [accessed 18 August 2017].
[125] A. Duggan, '*Ne in dubium*: The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172', *English Historical Review*, 115, 462, (2000), pp. 643-658, p.646, 648. A. Duggan, *Pope Alexander III (1159-81): The Art of Survival* (London, 2012) p. 283.
[126] '*Hors de Clairvaux, des églises et des monastères commençaient à se vanter de posséder des calices, des chasubles et des cannes qui auraient été utilisés par Bernard au cours de se voyages apostoliques à travers la plus grande partie de l'Europe occidentale'*, Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 141.
[127] D. Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection' in *Studies in Church History*, 8 (1972) pp. 61-72.

Our Lady St Mary (29-34), of the Patriarchs and Prophets (35-65), of the Martyrs (66-133), of the Confessors (134-184), and of the Virgins (185-230). Item 150 is recorded as '*de capillis sancti Bernardi'*, and item 151 '*de tunica sancti Malachie archiepiscopi'*.[128] BL Egerton 3031 is a collection of the abbey's charters, a book list, followed by a list of vestments, then relics. The relic collection was developed over 70 years; begun in 1121 and almost complete in 1190 when the list was made. There are additions in later hands, namely the gift of the head of St Philip by King John, the gift of a statue of a child by the duke of Aquitaine.[129] The dating of the manuscript suggests that the abbey obtained the relics of Bernard and Malachy following one of the translations in the 1170s, though Baxter does not speculate on the relic's provenance.[130] Reading may have been granted this favour due to its connection to the English royal family; the house was founded by Henry I in 1121. The presence of the relics in Reading demonstrates the appeal of the cults, despite the attempt of the monks at Clairvaux to limit interest in possible posthumous miracles.

During his lifetime, Bernard was alleged to have given a contact relic, his girdle, to St Robert of Newminster. The object's reputation for healing miracles suggests it was understood as a relic by contemporaries. In 1147 Robert had travelled to Clairvaux to speak to Bernard about the malicious rumours circulating about his relationship with a local pious noble woman. Bernard believed Robert, saying he understood such rumours had been planted to cause suspicion.[131] Bernard then gave Robert his girdle, which was preserved with the relics of Newminster and was said to be the means of performing miracles through the merit of both saints.[132] It should be noted this story appears in Capgrave's *Life of Saint Robert,* which was

[128] R. Baxter, *The Royal Abbey of Reading*, (Woodbridge, 2016) Appendix A, Reading Abbey Relic Lists.
[129] Ibid., p. 42.
[130] Ibid., p. 47.
[131] '*Frater Roberte, falsa sunt omnia que contra te sinistra suspicion machinari conata est'*. W. Williams, 'St. Robert of Newminster', *Downside Review*, Ivii (1939), pp. 137-49, p. 143, referring to chapter VII in the *Vita.*
132 '*ob utriusque sancti meritum'* Williams, 'St. Robert of Newminster', p. 143.

written at least 150 years after Robert's death.[133] John Capgrave (1393-1464) was an Augustinian friar, known in connection with the *Nova Legenda Angliae*, originally written by John of Tynemouth.[134] The gift may have been invented to associate Robert more closely with Bernard. Even if this is the case and the story was added to Robert's cult later, its inclusion suggests that such a gift was seen as possible. Incidentally, Robert's remains were translated to the choir of the abbey church and became a site of pilgrimage. Like Waltheof of Melrose, Robert performed miracles for monks, restoring one's health and saving another from a carriage accident, but also lay pilgrims, returning a man's speech and another's sanity.[135]

The distinctive cult management style employed by the Cistercians is thrown into sharp relief when compared to the cults of Thomas Becket and Francis of Assisi. These figures represent the characteristics of individual sanctity, and, to some degree, the institutions they represented. In each of these cults the description of miracles in the narrative documents and treatment of relics provide a useful comparison to consider the management of clerical and lay expectations regarding the cult of St Bernard.

Both Bernard and Becket were canonised by Alexander III, but from this point their cults diverged. Where Clairvaux attempted to restrict access to the tomb, the monks at Canterbury promoted their cult, manufacturing and dispersing contact relics. It is difficult to overstate the impact of Becket's murder on hagiographic activity between 1180 and 1220. Bartlett has argued Becket 'was the standard by which all other saints were measured; and his cult was by far the most visible, marked by great public occasions like the visit of Louis VII of France in 1179 and the spectacular translation of 1220'.[136] Roger of Crowland stated:

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[133] This seems to have drawn on *Hugh of Kirkstall's Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii.*
[134] T. Merton*, In the Valley of Wormwood: Cistercian Blessed and Saints of the Golden Age*, (Collegeville, MI, 2013), p. 199.
[135] Williams, 'St. Robert of Newminster', pp. 137-49. See chapters XIII, XIV, XI, XII.
[136] R. Bartlett, The hagiography of Angevin England' *Thirteenth-Century England V* (1993), pp. 37-52, p. 40.

> Not since the time of the apostles, I say this pace all other saints, has the death of one man brought a greater victory or one more profitable to the Church of Christ.[137]

Though the monks of Clairvaux collected the water that washed Bernard's body before his funeral and stored it, it was never dispersed to pilgrims in the manner of Becket's cult at Canterbury. There, the blood and water mix was an essential feature of the cult. Pilgrims were encouraged to take vials of 'the water of Becket' home with them. In some cases the blood itself was offered, presumably as small particles to be diluted by the pilgrim when needed.[138] A small reliquary containing the blood and clothing survives in the Metropolitan Museum.[139] It was commissioned by bishop Reginald of Bath for presentation to Margaret, dowager queen of Sicily (d.1183).[140] Such was the importance of this 'water', and the role the monks of Canterbury had in producing it, that it was depicted in the church's stained glass. The glass in the ambulatory of the cathedral depicts scenes from Benedict of Peterborough's miracle collection, written in around 1171-73.[141] These images suggest Becket's early cult was more decentralised than assumed; relics and reliquaries were present in local churches, some were personally owned.[142] The glass in the cathedral's Trinity Chapel (executed between 1185 and 1220) illustrates the mixing process at the tomb.[143] The glaziers emphasised the role of the monks of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, patrons of the glass, in the mixing process.

Despite the presence of relics in local churches, the manufacture of the 'water' was tied to Canterbury and the Christ Church monks.[144] Victor and Edith Turner noted how circles of

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[137] Roger of Crowland, *Quadrilogus* PL 190 Col. 259.
[138] Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, p. 46.
[139] New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 63.160. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/468600. For further discussion of this object, see T. Hoving, "A Newly Discovered Reliquary of St. Thomas Becket." *Gesta* 4 (1965). pp. 28-30, fig. 2, 3.
[140] Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, p. 145, n. 23.
[141] R. Koopmans, 'Visions, Reliquaries, and the Image of Becket's Shrine' in the Miracle Windows of Canterbury Cathedral', *Gesta,* 54, 1 (2015) pp. 37-57, p. 37.
[142] Ibid., p. 37.
[143] R. Koopmans, 'Water mixed with the blood of Thomas': contact relic manufacture pictured in Canterbury Cathedral's stained glass', *Journal of Medieval History*, 42, 5 (2016) pp. 535-558, p. 535.
[144] Koopmans, 'Water mixed with the blood of Thomas', p. 557.

influence could radiate out from a central shrine. Smaller shrines and chapels could thus be found along the pilgrimage route, designed as 'sacred valves and resistances […] designed to build up a considerable load of reverent feeling'.[145] There is no evidence that Clairvaux dispersed relics to smaller shrines or local churches to encourage pilgrimage in this way. Perhaps the community was relying on the textual representations of Bernard as unresponsive to the prayers of lay people to dissuade travel to the monastery. In the case described above, when Bernard's relics failed to cure a mad laywoman, Bernard was prevented from performing the miracle by his obedience to the Order.[146] Conrad of Eberbach does not define what he understood as 'public' in the context of Bernard's miracles, but the assumption must be that any miracles performed in front of a group, or whose performance may draw a crowd, and thus lead to disruption in the monastery, were public.

In many ways there are more similarities between the management of the cults of St Bernard and St Francis than with Becket. Both burials occurred earlier than planned, in part to protect the bodies, but also to limit the role of pilgrims. [147] At Bernard's funeral hordes of devotees attempted to touch and kiss the body, and despite the presence of monks, abbots, and bishops, it was difficult to maintain order, as described in the *EM*. The community at Clairvaux decided to say the funeral mass earlier than planned, while the crowd was sleeping. Bernard's body was then buried under the church slabs, facing the main altar.[148] The description of a

[145] V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture: anthropological perspectives*, (New York, NY, 1978), p. 23.
[146] Griesser, *Exordium magnum* II, C. XX, pp. 116-117.
[147] Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi: The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint* p. 154. R. B. Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006) p. 55, Waddell, 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 141.
[148] '*Aux premières heures du 22 août, alors que la foule dormait encoure, les moines et les prélats dirent la messe de funérailles plus tôt que prévu et déposèrent le corps frêle de Bernard sous les dalles de l'église, face à l'autel principal'. Waddell,* 'Le Culte et les reliques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', p. 141. Concern about theft or interference were also expressed by the followers of St Stephen of Obazine. While transporting the body, the brothers feared that the countess Margaret of Comborn would try to interfere and inter it in her church. They refused to allow the body to rest in her church for even one night. Constable, G., *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996) p. 41, *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine,* p. 203. The cult of St Stephen will be discussed in Chapter Three.

hasty and chaotic funeral suggests the Cistercians' anxieties about the disruption caused by pilgrims was well-founded. It appears that by burying St Bernard intact, limiting the possibility of the dispersal of relics, and curating his image in text as an ineffective intercessor for the laity, the Order was successful in reducing access to the cult.

Brother Elias in particular was determined that popular devotion around Francis' tomb should be prevented.[149] Relics had been sparingly dispersed by Francis during his life, forbidding his companions to preserve his hair or nails. In one instance he gave his nail parings to a brother of Marsica who had travelled to visit Francis at Rieti.[150] Several contact relics survived, portions of the water used to wash the body and the pillows used by Francis on his deathbed, for instance. One of these relics entered the collection of Blanche of Castile.[151] After the funeral relics were not distributed, and the crypt of the basilica was made inviolable by Pope Sixtus IV in the 1480s.

During his life Francis had performed his miracles and penances towards a lay public. The development of the friars was closely linked to the economic growth of the twelfth century. This created new spaces for public performance, such as town squares and market places.[152] Friars could now preach to large crowds.[153] Celano's *First Life* and the *Legend of Perugia* present Francis' miracles as both novel and Christo-mimetic.[154] The most obvious example of this was the stigmata, embodying Christ for a lay public.[155] Salvati has argued that the relics

[149] Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi,* p. 154.
[150] Brooke, *The Image of St Francis,* p. 49.
[151] Vauchez *Francis of Assisi,* p. 142.
[152] L. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, (New York, 1978), pp. 19-42.
[153] Rosenwein and Little have argued that even the form of the friars' ministry was a product of the changing, increasingly urban economy; 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualties,' *Past & Present* 63, 1 (1974), pp. 23-8.
[154] Thomas of Celano. "First and Second Lives of St. Francis with selections from Treatises on the Miracles of BL. Francis." trans. P. Hermann. In *St. Francis of Assisi Omnibus of Sources*, pp.177-612. "Legend of Perugia," trans. P. Oligny, in *St. Francis of Assisi Omnibus of Sources* pp. 957-1101.
[155] There were such serious doubts about the stigmata that between 1237 and 1291 nine different papal bulls were issued affirming the miracle's veracity. For a brief summary of this process and the disputations surrounding the miracle see A. I. Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or How St. Francis Received the Stigmata," *Critical Inquiry* 35, 3 (2009) pp. 456–7.

from this miracle were 'treated as the physical embodiment of a mystical experience […] relics of the points of contact and union between Francis and Christ.'[156] The Franciscan Order guarded the stigmata as the privilege of their founder, Francis was the first saint to experience it, but relics of the event were dispersed. These included blood from the wounds, the habit Francis was wearing, the bandage from the side wound, and the sock and shoes worn to protect his damaged feet.

The example of Francis' habit will serve to illustrate the position of the relics of the stigmata. On his return from La Verna Francis stopped in the town of Montauto, at the castle of Count Alberto Barbolani. Francis intimated that this would be their last meeting, and the count asked for a keepsake. Francis left his cloak, which the count enveloped in silk cloth with gold threading. The relic was placed under the altar of his chapel, where it remained for the next three hundred years. Salvati notes that the habit was 'revered by the inhabitants of Montauto as well as the many lords, bishops and cardinals who travelled there, despite the difficult journey, in order to see and touch the precious relic.'[157] The relic was thus controlled by a lay man, and public veneration encouraged. This accessibility aligned with the outward facing ethos of the preaching order, yet its maintenance by a lay man ensured that pilgrims did not disturb the Franciscans, as Brother Elias feared.

The community at Clairvaux were careful to protect the integrity of Bernard's body, dispersing few contact relics, and parting with only one finger bone. This policy was related to the architectural setting of the cult, and the depiction of Bernard's miracles (or lack thereof) in the canonisation letters and hagiographic texts. When relics appear in the miracle stories, it is Bernard's hair or teeth involved, and these objects have been given to Cistercian monasteries. No thought seems to have been given to the manufacture of contact relics in the manner of

[156] C. Salvati, *The Relics of the Stigmata of St Francis of Assisi* (PhD. Thesis, Concordia University, 2005) p. iii.
[157] Ibid., p. 41.

Becket's cult at Canterbury, and the presence of lay pilgrims was discouraged. The tomb remained accessible to the brothers, as the intended audience of the cult.

Conclusion

St Bernard's cult exemplifies the unique Cistercian approach to the veneration of saints, centred on concerns that pilgrims would disrupt the discipline of the monastery. Textual representations of St Bernard and the restriction of physical access to his relics worked in conjunction to dissuade travel to the monastery. Monastic pilgrimage was also discouraged, as Bernard was presented to his monks as a visionary intercessor whose powers were not tied to his tomb. Throughout this chapter is has been argued that the community at Clairvaux carefully curated the audiences for the cults of SS Malachy and Bernard. In so doing they reinforced the boundaries between themselves and the outside world, highlighting their own sense of distinction and exclusive access to the shrines and relics.

Competing conceptualisations of Bernard's sainthood are apparent in the *Vita Prima*, as authors who had personal relationships with the subject focused on Bernard's role as abbot, and others highlighted his interventions in church politics. The representation of Bernard varied according to the interests of different groups. The evolving canonisation process affected the development of Bernard's sanctity, as the content and format of the vita was amended to fit requirements. In these documents 'Bernard the founder and politician' prevailed. The statutes relating to the cult show that prior to papal canonisation in 1175, celebration of Bernard's Office for the Dead was limited to the Clarevallian filiation. The dissemination of the *vita* corroborates this earlier, more limited, celebration, and displays a changing image of Bernard through various redactions.

A consensus seems to have emerged around how the cult would function. This is evident in the development of the architectural setting for the cult and how access to the tomb was managed. The setting needs to be understood in relation to the cult Bernard had instigated for Malachy and the timeline of the building programme. While Malachy was deemed an important role model for the monks, the audience was restricted. As in Bernard's cult, few posthumous miracles were recorded. Instead, the saint's virtuous life was given prominence. Promoting St Bernard as a thaumaturge would have attracted pilgrims, and disrupted monastic life. Similar concerns are evident in other Cistercian cults in the twelfth century. Different approaches to the possibilities presented by saint's cults will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The identification of contact relics, and their limited dispersal, is connected to the management of access to the tomb, and the presentation of Bernard in the *vita*. Apart from the finger bone sent to Henry II, the community prioritised maintaining the integrity of the body, translating a limited number of contact relics. In the case of the relic list from Reading Abbey, it seems that the circulation of Bernard's relics may have occurred in conjunction with Malachy's. Such an association would have reinforced Clairvaux's claim as the new centre for reformed monasticism, already present in their rhetoric and the architecture of the third abbey church.

Chapter Three

Posthumous miracles and disruptive pilgrims in twelfth-century Cistercian hagiography

The posthumous miracles of saints played an important role in establishing their sanctity in the newly-developing papal canonisation procedures in the twelfth century.[1] These miracles established the saint as an effective intercessor in the minds of the laity. Major shrines recorded curative and punishment miracles with a view to publicising the power of their saint, to raise money for new reliquaries or building schemes, or to provide reading material for feast days and sermons.[2] The public aspect of these stories is evident in the descriptions of the crowds of lay people present at the shrine to celebrate the cure. Collections of miracles recorded at such shrines had a public audience. Stories might be passed by word of mouth between pilgrims, or included in sermons. Cistercian cults, in contrast, did not create *miracula* collections. Miracles and visions relating to Cistercian saints were recorded in hagiography, often intended for an internal audience.

Hagiographic rhetoric was used to create and reinforce monastic identity, often in opposition to a proximate 'other'. In the Cistercian texts, the 'other' are Benedicitine monks, to whom they can compare standards, adherence to the Rule, and levels of ascetism. Hagiographical texts provide evidence of Cistercian attitudes towards sacred objects and materiality. They do this through the presentation of posthumous miracle and the (lack of) emphasis placed on proximity to the saints' relics or tomb. These texts reveal the prominence of visions of saints and other departed members of the community. These visions were to impart

[1] For further discussion see A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2005).
[2] For example the cults discussed by R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York, NY, 1995) and B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (University Park, PA, 1987).

wisdom or advice, rather than to encourage pilgrimage. The restricted access the Order granted to its saints is also evident in *vitae* which prioritise Cistercian miracle recipients and portray lay pilgrims as a disruptive influence in the monastery. The Cistercians were aware that the internal focus of their cults was different to their contemporaries, and it had a role in community building and identity formation, through a shared understanding and language of sanctity.

It is difficult to determine the relationship between the texts produced in relation to cults, and the practical aspects of cult management, such as the access to relics granted to lay pilgrims. Hagiography provides evidence about notions of sanctity current when the authors were writing.[3] While the exact relationship between the texts and behaviour cannot be known, even if the authors are only describing what they wished to see, this still demonstrates an important difference between the orders' attitudes. It is possible both to examine texts with the traditions of Benedictine, Cistercian or Gilbertine moral edification, and consider their use within such a tradition. The audience for these texts is thus an important consideration. While socio-political circumstances that surrounded a text's production should, and in this chapter will, be considered, the reader's experience of the text is also important.[4] Townsend has argued that a *vita* 'delineates a mock reader whose function is to draw the text's receptor toward a targeted set of values, attitudes, and affirmations'.[5] While many of the same cues can be seen in texts produced by different authors and monastic orders, they may have triggered different responses in their readers or hearers. Hagiographic accounts are not necessarily designs for cult management; unlike the *miracula* collections recorded at cathedral shrines they are not evidence

[3] F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator,* 25 (1994), pp. 95-113.
[4] D. Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Historiography and the Norman Transition', *Exemplaria*, 3, 2, (1991) pp. 385-433, pp.385-391. See also R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum,* 58, 3, (1983) pp. 598-613, p. 598.
[5] Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Historiography and the Norman Transition', p. 388.

of actual practice. They are, however, projecting an image of an idealised Cistercian practice, wherein Cistercian saints are primarily efficacious for members of the Order.

This chapter will begin by establishing the presence of tropes in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century hagiography of disruptive pilgrims and reduced access for women and the laity as compared to Benedictine and Gilbertine cults.[6] The perceptions of pilgrims in these texts demonstrate the importance the Order attached to exclusive access to sacred objects as a method of differentiation. Cistercian distinctiveness with regards to the Order's emphasis on exclusive participation will be established by examining hagiography written by members of the order for Cistercian saints and Cistercian audiences.

This chapter will then consider the texts Cistercians wrote for audiences outside of the Order. Cistercian-authored texts about Cistercian saints will be compared to the texts written by Cistercian authors on commission, such as the work by Aelred of Rievaulx. It will be argued that the Cistercian perspective on the role of relics and miracles was so clear as to manifest even in texts written for external audiences. Similar patterns are evident in these *vitae*, emphasising the Cistercian perspective on the role of relics and miracles for different audiences. It will be demonstrated that Cistercian interests in imitable virtues, such as obedience and humility, are emphasized over posthumous miracles located at a saint's tomb. Rather than focus on works of wonder, Cistercian authors underlined the virtues and good works that could inspire similar acts in their audience. These authors also had a sustained interest in the promotion of church reform. St Ninian was presented as an ideal bishop, educating priests and converting lay people. Cistercian investment in episcopal conduct is evident in St Bernard's portrayal of Malachy.[7] These *vitae* are guides to good conduct.

[6] For this debate in relation to the cult of St Bernard, see Chapter Two. See also B. P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991) pp. 185-7.
[7] For further discussion of the cult of St Malachy, see Chapter One, section 1.

Finally, this chapter will consider the *vitae* written for saints venerated at houses incorporated into the Order. The last section will allow consideration of the impact of incorporation on a saint's *vita*; specifically with regards to degrees and depictions of ascetic practice, and contact with the laity. Overall, this will help to assess whether the texts represented attitudes to relics in line with the opinions of Bernard as outlined in Chapter One. If Cistercian hagiography and cult management provided a distinct model from their contemporaries, it follows that the cults incorporated into the order in the twelfth century may have been adapted to fit. The Congregation of Savigny, with houses on both sides of the English Channel, was not the only group incorporated in the twelfth century. Obazine and its dependent houses joined in the same period. Several hermitages founded by Gerald of Salles in the south of France also joined, as did individual hermitages and Benedictine houses.[8] Some of these communities were subsumed into the Order as monasteries, others were downgraded into granges.

The hagiographic accounts provide evidence for how this incorporation, and its effect on devotional practice, was remembered. The texts demonstrate how ideas of what constitutes sanctity were adapted and modified; the *vita* of Stephen of Obazine describes a relaxation of regimes of asceticism, and comparisons of the *vitae* of Vitalis and Hamo of Savigny display a shift in emphasis from preaching towards contemplation. The account of the 1243 translation of the Savigniac saints, however, indicates the continued presence of a large number of lay pilgrims in the church. It will be demonstrated that some modifications were expected, and indeed are on occasion described in the hagiography, of incorporated cults, but that these changes did not necessarily translate into reduced lay access to the shrine. This was usually due

[8] C. H. Berman, 'Origins of the Filiation of Morimond in Southern France. Redating Foundation Charters for Gimont, Villelongue, Berdoues, L'Escaldieu, and Bonnefont', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses,* 41 (1990), pp. 256-78.

to the influence of local traditions and expectations, as well as practical considerations about the desires of powerful patrons.

1. Distinctive tropes in twelfth-century Cistercian hagiography

This section will establish the presence of tropes in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century hagiography of disruptive pilgrims and reduced access for women and the laity as compared to Benedictine and Gilbertine cults, and those managed by Augustinian and regular canons. The perceptions of pilgrims in these texts demonstrate the importance the Order attached to exclusive access to sacred objects as a method of differentiation. Curative miracles were more often performed for the benefit of members of the Order, and visions provided a source of reassurance or correction, rather than an impetus for travel. The saint may appear to members of their Order to offer comfort or administer discipline, as seen in Bernard's cult in Chapter Two. Alternatively, the text may describe the visions the subjects themselves experienced during life. Curative miracles, involving prayer or contact relics, more often relate to members of the community to which the saint belonged than lay people. Cistercian texts focus on imitable virtues and the role of the saint in their community, rather than posthumous miracles. Where miracles are presented as important, the role of God working through the virtuous saint is stressed.

In the *Vita Ailredi,* completed soon after Aelred's death in 1167, Walter Daniel focused on Aelred's life, ending the text with his subject's death and burial. The curative miracles that occurred during Aelred's life, with one exception, were administered to members of the community at Rievaulx or its daughter house, Revesby. The *vita* describes the cure of a monk with a stomach complaint, one of Rievaulx's shepherds who had become dumb, and a monk

with heart failure.[9] Aelred's role in these cures is minimised by the hagiographer, as the role of God working through the saint is emphasised. When the sub-prior of Revesby fell ill with a fever, Aelred visited the infirmary, and said to the sick man 'Tomorrow, in the name of the Lord, make your way to the church, take your place in the choir of the psalmodists, sing with them and pray to God, and through Him, I believe, you will be well'.[10] In the only account of a cure for a layman, Aelred again stressed the miracle came from God. Aelred encountered the sick man while travelling from Galloway to Rievaulx. The man had swallowed a tadpole, which had since grown into a frog, causing his stomach to appear distended. The man asked Aelred if he could cure him. Aelred replied he could not, 'but God can cure thee if He wills, for when He wills everything is possible'.[11]

The first version of the *vita* was criticised for its enthusiastic description of Aelred's miracles.[12] Dutton has suggested that Walter began writing the *vita* before Aelred's death hoping to forestall this criticism.[13] In the letter Walter wrote to an unidentified Maurice, he defended the miracles he described as taking place during Aelred's life, but insisted that his sanctity was independent of them. Rather, his personality, humility and charity were the characteristics that set him apart:

> Charity is a fine thing, a sweet thing, a thing which never lacks the rewarding fruit of eternal graciousness […] I marvel at the charity of Aelred more than I should marvel if he had raised four men from the dead.[14]

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[9] Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall*, (ed. and tr.) F.M. Powicke (London, 1950) pp. 42-5.
[10] '*Cras in nomine Domini ad ecclesiam perge, in spallencium chorum irrumpe, canta cum illis et ora Deum, et per ipsum, ut credo, sanitate pocieris'* Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall,* pp. 29-30.
[11] '*Deus uoluerit ipse te sanare potest, cui subset cum uoluerit possee*,' Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall*, pp. 46-8.
[12] F. M. Powicke, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and his biographer Walter Daniel', *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* 6, 3 and 4, (1921-1922) pp. 310-351, p. 335.
[13] M. L. Dutton, 'Aelred of Rievaulx: Abbot, Teacher, and Author' in *A companion to Aelred of Reivaulx (1100-1167)*, pp. 17-47, p. 18.
[14] '*Ergo caritas res mirabilis est, res dulcis, res amabilis, res utique que nunquam caret fructu remuneracionis eterne suauitatis […] ego caritatem Alredi plus mirror quam mirarer si iiij fuisset suscitator mortuorum'.* Walter Daniel, *Epistola ad Mauricium*, (ed. and tr.) F.M. Powicke (London, 1950) p. 78.

It is not clear how widely Walter's *vita* circulated. There is only one extant manuscript, dating from the fourteenth century and likely produced at the monastery of Durham.[15] In this manuscript the *vita* is accompanied by the Letter to Maurice and a supplemental lamentation.[16] Powicke noted all three of these works were written by the same hand, the beginning of each chapter marked by an illuminated capital.[17]

Aelred's focus on God as the worker of miracles is a mark of his humility, a virtue prized by the Cistercians. Walter praised Aelred as an abbot and spiritual leader, largely ignoring his public activities outside of the monastery.[18] His presentation in the *vita* in no way encourages the development of a cult for lay people centred on his tomb. His tomb was placed in the chapter house, as was traditional for abbots of the order.[19] During the thirteenth century Aelred's shrine was moved to the newly finished east end of the abbey church, behind the high altar.[20] His cult was not recognised by the Order until 1476, implying that his cult was only significant locally. The location of the tomb implies the restriction of physical access to the monks, as lay people would only rarely be permitted to enter these spaces. The lack of recognition in the Order suggests that monastic pilgrimage was also not encouraged, and the cult was limited to the monks of Rievaulx.

The *vita* of Christian L'Aumone (d.1145) written at the end of the twelfth century also displays an internal focus. Christian had been a hermit with a community at Gastines, who had concerns about contact with women and chastity, and subsequently sought stricter discipline. This transfer is a common theme in stories of incorporation, and provides evidence of how the

[15] Powicke, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and his biographer Walter Daniel', p. 334.
[16] Cambridge, Jesus College MS Q.B 7 [fols. 63v-74r], Letter ff. 61a-63b, Lamentation ff 25a-75b.
[17] Powicke, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and his biographer Walter Daniel', p. 334.
[18] Dutton, 'Aelred of Rievaulx: Abbot, Teacher, and Author', p. 19.
[19] M. L. Dutton, 'Introduction', in *Aelred of Rievaulx Spiritual Friendship* trans. L. C. Braceland, (Kalamazoo, MI, 2010), p. 18.
[20] The position of the shrine is known from a c.1539 inventory. The exact date of the translation is unknown. See P. Fergusson and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey* (London, 1999), pp. 167-8.

order was perceived. He entered L'Aumône, the seventh daughter house of Cîteaux, as a lay monk.[21] Since his childhood Christian had experienced visions of demons.[22] While at L'Aumone Christian had visions of Abbot Raynaud and the monks of Cîteaux, and a vision of St Bernard and Eugenius III.[23] The portion of the *vita* concerned with Christian's conversion and visionary experiences once a member of the Order circulated in the *Exordium Magnum*, a late twelfth-century exempla collection collated by Conrad of Eberbach.[24] That Conrad was able to include Christian's story demonstrates an awareness of his experiences, at least within the filiation of Clairvaux. The decision to exclude Christian's early visions of demons from the exempla collection demonstrates Conrad's focus on events related to the Order; the first book of the *EM* is organised around vignettes of the Order's early members.

The value placed on visionary experiences over miracles, especially visions of the Virgin Mary or visions shared with the monastic community is also evident in Cistercian hagiography. It is clear in these internally-focused texts that visions and mystical experiences were prioritised over thaumatological miracles. Visionary experiences and devotion to the Virgin Mary are prominent themes in the *vita* of Abundus, a Cistercian monk at Villers, in the duchy of Brabant and diocese of Liège (d.1239). The *vita* was written by Goswin of Bussut, the cantor of Villers.[25] The work appears to have been undertaken at his own initiative, with the permission of his abbot, during the 1230s. Goswin claimed Abundus as a close friend, and seems to have written

[21] For a discussion of this idea, see C. Waddell, 'The Cistercian Lay Monk: A Contradiction in Terms?' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 47, 2 (2012) pp. 137-48.
[22] '*Christianus seruus Dei a puerilibus annis multas et graues inuisibilium hostium infestationes uisibiliter est perpessus*', "La Vie de Christian de L'Aumône", (ed.) M. Coens *Analecta Bollandiana* 52 (1934) pp. 5-20, p. 14.
[23] In the former, Christian was en-route to Cîteaux, to speak with Raynard. During the journey, the monks stopped to say the hour of Sext, and separated to say the hour of the Blessed Virgin. Christian experienced a vision, and despite never having visited Cîteaux before, was able to point the way. In the latter, Christian saw St Bernard at the altar in Clairvaux, and the narrator reflects on his ability to describe the physical appearance of a man he had not met. (J. Leclercq, 'Le Texte Complet de la Vie de Christian de L'Aumone', *Analecta Bollandina*, 71 (1953) pp. 21-52, p. 24. Chapter 25 in the *Vita*, pp. 41-2).
[24] *EM* 1.34. pp. 122-4. For detailed discussion of the *EM*, see Chapter Four, section 2.
[25] M. Cawley, 'Introduction', *Send Me To God: The Lives of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles, Nun of La Ramée, Arnulf, Lay Brother of Villers, and Abundus, Monk of Villers, by Goswin of Bossut* (Turnhout, 2003) pp. 6-8.

the *vita* while Abundus was alive.[26] An intimate relationship between author and subject explains the detail in which Abundus' inner life is described. His visionary experiences form a large part of the text. Goswin describes visions in which Abundus sees the Virgin, chants in the choir, participates in Candlemas, aids with the harvest, or enjoys festive vigils with Christ and St Bernard.[27]

The role of the wider community in these visions is interesting, and demonstrates the focus on the cloister in these texts, reinforcing the emphasis on the importance of Cistercian saints for their Order, rather than outsiders. The monks of Villers knew of Abundus' familiarity with the Virgin Mary, and would occasionally ask him to commend them to her. Others would ask him to inquire about the souls of deceased relatives, to discover whether they had been placed in purgatory.[28] Rather than a source of encouragement for pilgrimage as in the Benedictine visions described below, here they provide a source of reassurance; of the love the Virgin had for the order, and the reward the monks would eventually receive. Abundus recounted two dream visions to Goswin. In the first the deceased brother Bernard appeared to say the 'long martyrdom' of life as a Cistercian was worth the reward in heaven.[29] In the second Master John of Nivelles appeared, and attributed his relief in heaven to his charity and chastity while alive.[30] Goswin used the visions to reinforce the importance of participation in the liturgy and manual labour, and demonstrating the role of a virtuous life in the monks' eventual reward.

The circulation and reception of these *vitae* needs to be considered, as this provides further evidence of the intended audience. Newman has stated 'these *Lives* were written chiefly for

[26] B. Newman, 'Preface: Goswin of Villers and the Visionary Newtork', in M. Cawley trans. and ed. *Send Me To God,* pp. xxix-xlvii, p. xxiv.
[27] *Life of Abundus* in *Send Me To God*, Chapter 8, pp. 221-3, Chapter 11, pp. 225-8, Chapter 14, p. 234, Chapter 20, pp. 243-6.
[28] *Life of Abundus*, Chapter, 9b, p. 223.
[29] Ibid., Chapters 15 a and b, p. 235.
[30] Ibid., Chapters 15 c and d, pp. 235-6.

local consumption, not for the benefit of authorities in Rome. In fact, none of the southern Netherlandish saints were ever canonised, although several are liturgically honoured as 'blessed''.[31] This statement is borne out by the extant manuscripts. The *Vita Ida Nivellensis* exists in two extant manuscripts, one of which was commissioned for La Ramee.[32] The *Vita Arnulf conversi Villariensis* similarly seems to have been restricted to Cistercian houses in the locality, with two of the five extant manuscripts from Villers and Orval.[33] The *Vita Abundi* exists in two extant manuscripts. One of these may have been created during Goswin's time at Villers.[34] The second appears to be a fifteenth-century copy of this manuscript.[35]

The Cistercian saints' focus on their community is also evident in the visions described in the *vita* of Ida of Nivelles (1199-1231), a nun first at Kerkom, then La Ramée, whose *vita* was composed shortly after her death by Goswin of Bossut. Here the recurring theme is her desire to share her visions, hence her epithet 'the compassionate'. She is described as interceding with God to take on another's spiritual suffering, helping others cope with temptation or sin.[36] Crawley notes her concern for other people's spiritual welfare 'is paramount in almost every anecdote'.[37] Her humility is paralleled with that of Bernard. Where Bernard said 'Much do I marvel at what these miracles mean. What is God looking for in performing such feats through such as I!'[38] Ida's hagiographer tells us that she too wondered 'what it meant that her spouse would hold her aloft amid such revelations'.[39] Rather than visions of the Virgin Mary, Ida is

[31] Newman, 'Preface', p. xxxi.
[32] Ibid., p. ix. Brussels, Bibliotheque royale, MS 8609-8620, fols 146r-178v, and MS 8895-96, fols 1r-35v.
[33] Newman, 'Preface', pp. xx-xxi. Three MS, one from Villers, one from Orval, one in the possession of Aubert Le Mire. Newman states that these were noted by Bollandist editor D. Papebroeck in 1709, and Moreau reported a fourth in the Imperial Library of Berlin, and a fifth in the Bodleian (1909).
[34] Brussels, Bibliothèque royal, MS 19525.
[35] Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, cvp 12854.
[36] *Life of Ida* in *Send Me To God*, Chapters 5-18, pp. 38-56.
[37] M. Crawley, 'Ida of Nivelles: a Cistercian Nun', In J. A. Nichols and L. T. Shank (eds.*) Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995) pp. 305-322, p. 311.
[38] *Vita Prima Sancti Bernardi,* 2.27.
[39] *Life of Ida,* Chapter 31, p. 86.

said to have experienced visions of Christ while partaking in the Eucharist. At one Pentecost dinner, for example, Ida saw a bright light, then the Christ-child appeared. The child made the rounds of the refectory, lingering with each nun, but spending more time with Ida, 'since her love was more ardent and her desire more vehement, and therefore she allured God more frequently than did the others'.[40] An emphasis on the importance of the eucharist will also be demonstrated in the exempla collections, discussed in the following chapter. Throughout the text the focus remains on spiritual rather than physical sufferings. Ida is shown interceeding for members of her community, or members of other orders or priests, rather than lay people.

Anxieties about the impact of the arrival of pilgrims on monastic life are also evident in these texts. Thomas of Cantimpré (c.1200-c.1270) stated that his *vita* of Lutgard of Aywières, written in around 1246, was to be read as an example for a virtuous life; 'may this increase virtue and merit in its readers to whom it will be at hand as a lesson and example of virtue'.[41] Lutgard was first a reluctant nun at the Benedictine nunnery of Sint-Truiden before transferring to the Cistercians. Her first reported vision occurred when she was waiting for a knight to court her. While she waited Christ appeared, indicating his wounded side.[42] From this point on, Lutgard began a more contemplative life, and took the veil.

The 'exchange of hearts' was an important theme in the *vita*. Lutgard reportedly had the grace of healing, which drew crowds of pilgrims who disturbed her prayer. This comment on the disruptive potential of pilgrims is consistent with the other Cistercian texts discussed in this

[40] *Life of Ida*, Chapter 19, pp. 58-60, at p. 59.
[41] M. H. King, 'The Dove at the Window: The Ascent of the Soul in Thomas de Cantimpré's "Life of Lutgard of Aywières", in J. A. Nichols and L. T. Shank (eds.) *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women. Book One. Medieval Religious Women Volume Three* (Kalamazoo, 1995) pp. 225 – 253, p. 226. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Vita Lutgardis* in B. Newman (ed.) Thomas of Cantimpré: The Collected Saints' Lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres, and Lutgard of Aywières (Turnhout, 2008), Prologue, p. 211, see also 3,18, p. 289.
[42] Bussels, 'Saint Lutgard's Mystical Spirituality', In J. A. Nichols and L. T. Shank (eds.) *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women* (Kalamazoo, 1995) pp. 211-224, p. 212. *Vita Lutgardis,* 1,2, pp. 217-18.

chapter, and in the cult of Bernard of Clairvaux. Lutgard first asked Christ for a better understanding of the psalms instead of the ability to heal; this then occurred, though she knew no Latin. Lutgard still felt unfulfilled, and asked Christ to exchange this gift for his heart.[43] In Thomas' account Lutgard and Christ often conversed, and the *vita* contains large sections of direct speech. Her illiteracy and humility are important themes throughout.[44]

Lutgard's miracles were only discussed in detail when they were performed for the benefit of members of her community or other religious individuals. In Book II for example, Lutgard was able to cure one sister's eating disorder and another's deafness.[45] She also read the heart of a recluse who was too embarrassed to confess to the priest, and secured the return of a Franciscan friar after twelve years of apostasy.[46] The detail provided suggests Thomas thought the background of the miracle recipients important, and reinforces the sense that lay pilgrims were seen as disruptive. There are several descriptions of Lutgard's reception of visions; visits from the recently departed were expected, and in some cases demanded. This was often the case in agreements between spiritual friends.[47] Again, the visions in the *vita* reinforce a sense of community and communication between the living and the dead.

In a similar manner to Ida, Lutgard was noted for her intercession. Thomas stated that Lutgard often admonished priests to tend their flocks more carefully. Lutgard reported praying for fifteen years that Jacques de Vitry be saved from a temptation he remained unaware of.[48] She was close to Jordan of Saxony, Master General of the Dominicans. The *vita* states 'Lutgard had an amazing love for this venerable man […] and he confided in her above all women,

[43] *Vita Lutgardis,* 1,12, pp. 225-28.
[44] For further discussion see R. Smith, 'Language, Literacy, and the Saintly Body: Cistercian Reading Practices and the Life of Lutgard of Aywières (1182-1246)', *Harvard Theological Review*, 109, 4 (2016) pp. 586-610.
[45] *Vita Lutgardis,* 2.20. For another example of Lutgard's ability to heal members of her community, see 2 .22.
[46] *Vita Lutgardis,* 2.37, 2.35. For further examples see 2.28 when Lutgard healed an epileptic child, and 2.24 when Lutgard became the spiritual mother to a night who becomes a monk at Aflighem.
[47] Ibid., 3.5, 2.12, 2.8.
[48] Ibid., 2.3.

making her the mother and nourisher of the whole Order of Preachers.'[49] Lutgard's sanctity was thus famed during her lifetime. Her gift of intercession was focused, however, towards members of the secular clergy and mendicant preachers. This is reflective of the religious landscape of the Low Countries during this period, and the close connections between the Orders.[50] The interest of a Cistercian nun in the effective pastoral care of the laity by priests and friars aligns with the Order's conception of the Church as a moral body in need of reform to function effectively. This last point will be discussed in more detail in the following section in relation to the writing of Aelred of Rievaulx.

The posthumous miracles appear disjointed when compared to the rest of the *vita*. King suggests this 'untidy conclusion' can be attributed to the circumstances surrounding the text's production.[51] Thomas states that he composed the *vita* at the request of the abbess, in return for Lutgard's finger, a gift he 'desired more than gold and silver'.[52] He justifies this desire by listing other digital dismemberments. His examples are women who had been canonised, or whose cause was being pleaded.[53] It may be the *vita* was intended to contribute to Lutgard's canonisation, and that the text was left open-ended so the nuns could add miracles as they occurred.[54] The informal collection of miracles attributed to Gilbert of Sempringham was recorded in a similar manner, discussed in detail below. It should be noted that of the eight posthumous miracles described, all but one were reported by members of Lutgard's community.

[49] *Vita Lutgardis,* 3.3.
[50] For further reading see L. J. R. Milis (ed. J. Deploige, M. de Reu, W. Simons, S. Vanderputten) *Religion, culture and mentalities in the medieval Low Countries. Selected Essays* (Turnhout, 2005).
[51] King, 'The Dove at the Window', p. 230.
[52] *Vita Lutgardis,* 3.19, pp. 290-292.
[53] Thomas' examples were Natalia, martyred by Maximus in Nicodemia (c.304), Elisabeth of Hungary (d.1231), and Marie d'Oignes (d.1213).
[54] King, 'The Dove at the Window', p. 231.

These cures followed contact with her body during the washing, or with various contact relics associated with her cult.[55]

During the preparation of her corpse, Lutgard's body performed a miracle similar to those attributed to SS Malachy and Bernard. While washing the body a nun 'accidently touched the body with her paralysed hand while she was washing it, and suddenly the hand was restored to health, fully functional for all tasks'.[56] The account of this miracle does not explicitly refer to the miracles performed during Malachy's funeral, when Bernard brought a boy with a withered arm up to the body, or Bernard's funeral, when a pilgrim was able to approach the bier.[57] The presentation of this account, however, does suggest that Thomas was aware of these previous miracles, and sought to place Lutgard alongside famous saints of the Order.

The position of Lutgard's tomb was the subject of discussion in the *vita*.[58] Thomas related that the Father Visitor, the Abbot of Aulne, was present when Lutgard died and suggested the saint be buried in the church 'where she can be worthily visited by everyone'. Who 'everyone' was intended to encompass is not specified. The discussion is reminiscent of the *vita Waldevi* (c.1207-1214).[59] In that text a prolonged discussion is depicted between members of the community at Melrose and various visiting bishops concerning the placement of the tomb. In this case, it was decided to bury Walethof in the chapter house, as was customary for abbots. In contrast, Lutgard was buried on the right side of the choir. Prior to her death, Lutgard had told her concerned sisters that when they needed the support of her prayers they should 'Flee to my

[55] *Vita Lutgardis,* 3.18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, pp. 289, 294-6.
[56] Ibid., 3.18, p. 289.
[57] This incident is discussed in Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux,* p. 65.
[58] *Vita Lutgardis,* 3.20, p. 292.
[59] See G. J., McFadden, 'An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952). This cult is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

tomb. There I will be as present to you in death as I was in life.'[60] Despite the location of her tomb in the church, the text and content of the miracles do not suggest a wide lay audience. Lutgard is portrayed as confident in her powers of intercession, and clear about her role for the monastic community.

Lay pilgrims are rare in the posthumous miracles. In 3.22 Lutgard appeared in a vision to a nun at Aywières to allay a plague;[61] the rest of the accounts relate to the successful application of contact relics. Thus in 3.23 a young nun named Beatrice was cured by Lutgard's veil,[62] the chaplain Dom Alard and Subprioress Oda by other, unspecified contact relics.[63] The only lay person mentioned appears in the last miracle recounted in Book III. A belt made of horsehair 'which Lutgard had been want to wear against her skin for the laceration of her body' used to help a noble woman in childbirth.[64] In addition to providing evidence of Lutgard's asceticism, this miracle is the only account of contact relics travelling outside the monastery. Given the restricted access granted to lay people described in the rest of the text, it appears possible that this noble woman was the relative of a nun. Beatrice, for example, is described as coming from 'noble stock', and had 'most generously relieved the poverty of Aywières with her inheritance'.[65] The decision to send the relics may have been linked to the role this woman played as a patron to the community.

The distinctiveness of the Cistercian texts is thrown into relief by comparison with those written by their contemporaries. The role of visions, the types of miracle recipients, and the centrality of the tomb in these accounts can be compared. The key difference between

[60] *Vita Lutgardis,* 3.20, p.2 93.
[61] Ibid., 3.22, p. 294.
[62] Ibid., 3.23, p. 294 see also 3.27 for another nun cured of headache by the veil.
[63] Ibid., 3.24 and 3.25, p. 295.
[64] Ibid., 3.28, p. 296.
[65] Ibid., 3.23, p. 294.

Cistercian hagiography and that written by Benedictines, Gilbertines, and canons, is the access that lay pilgrims were reportedly granted to the tomb or relics, and how this access was facilitated or encouraged. The Cistercians had a keen interest in the Order of Sempringham.[66] Several of Gilbert of Sempringham's posthumous miracles share the emphases found in Cistercian hagiography as outlined above, but he was also reported to appear in visions encouraging lay pilgrimage to his tomb. The hagiography written for the cults of SS Frideswide of Oxford, Ithamar of Rochester, Modwenna of Burton, and Erkenwald of London all encouraged lay pilgrimage to the tomb. These cults have been chosen due to the presence of twelfth- or thirteenth- century texts and geographical spread of devotion.

The main source for the life of Gilbert of Sempringham is the dossier compiled for his canonisation in 1202, containing the *vita*, letters, and two collections of miracles.[67] Gilbertine tradition has been transmitted in two forms. The first was contemporary with the canonisation and aimed to preserve the evidence of the process. The second was later, and preserved the cult in the context of personal devotion.[68] Rudd suggests the canons and nuns would have read and heard the *vita* during monastic office or meals, and that there is no evidence that the text made its way outside the order, but was intended for the cloister.[69] Cistercian hagiography seems

[66] The Order of Sempringham began as an order of recluses, founded c.1130, mostly confined to the dioceses of Lincoln and York. A group of seven female recluses gathered at the church of St Andrew, and Gilbert, the rector, enclosed them. While developing the Order Gilbert took advice from William, the first abbot of Rievaulx, on setting up a lay sisterhood to provide his anchorites with supplies. When Halverholme was founded c.1139, the lay sisters and brethren were said to be following rules based on Cistercian models. There is no evidence, however, that the nuns followed a version of the Cistercian rule. As the order grew he added lay sisters, lay brothers, and later, canons who followed the Augustinian Rule. See Golding, 'Hermits, Monks, and Women in Twelfth-Century France and England', pp. 136-7, 145, K. Sykes, *Inventing Sempringham: Gilbert of Sempringham and the Origins of the Role of the Master* (Munster, 2011) pp, 1-8.

[67] The first investigation carried out by abbots of Swineshead, Bourne and Croxton. This investigation was deemed inadequate by the papacy and a second, satisfactory, investigation was undertaken by Hubert Walter, bishop of Ely and abbot of Peterborough. There is also the informal collection of miracles, probably assembled by Roger. *The Book of Gilbert*, pp. 201-5, 265-303, 303-335. For papal censure of canonisation investigations, see Vauchez *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* pp. 38-9.

[68] Foreville and Keir, 'Introduction', *The Book of Gilbert*, p. lxxi.

[69] Rudd, M., 'Reading Miracles at Sempringham: Gilbert's Instructive Cures', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 13, (1999), pp. 125-136, p. 129. Two manuscripts survive from the Gilbertine order; BL Cotton Cleopatra B. i. from the early thirteenth century, and BL Harleian 468, from the mid- or late- thirteenth century. The last manuscript,

similarly intended for internal edification. An internal audience for the Gilbertine texts makes the role of the lay pilgrims and patrons more interesting, and suggests the author wished to remind the community that such interaction was important.

The miracles attributed to Gilbert's life reinforce this desire for strict observance, and are similar to the disciplinary visions of Bernard.[70] Gilbert had reportedly transferred his fever to his chaplain Albinus, in order to focus on his work. Albinus later suffered a relapse, at which point Gilbert ordered the fever to leave. This miracle is described in both the *vita* and the formal miracle collection. Gilbert is said to have ordered Albinus to rid himself of the disease 'by the strength of his obedience', and the fever to leave 'by virtue of its obedience', and was obeyed.[71] The emphasis on obedience here can be compared to its prominence in Cistercian miracles, especially the prohibition of posthumous miracles at funerals.[72] The visions in which Gilbert appeared to members of his order reinforced the continuity of his responsibilities after his death.[73] Gilbert was known for his discipline; he struck an unruly canon on the head with his staff for forgetting his vow of obedience.[74] Similar disciplinary miracles occurred after Gilbert's death, reinforcing his image as an authoritarian.[75]

Oxford Bodleian MS Digby 36, is a fifteenth century devotional book. The Cotton MS (containing the Life, canonisation letters, miracle collections 1 and 2) displays evidence of use by the order, and the Harleian MS is a carefully planned copy of the Book of St Gilbert, that was not quite finished. See Foreville and Keir, 'Introduction', *The Book of Gilbert*, pp. lxiii-lxxi, lxvi- lxvii.

[70] For examples of Bernard's appearance in visions, see M. Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', pp. 37-64.

[71] *The Book of Gilbert*, pp. 97-99, 208-1 see also Sykes, *Inventing Sempringham* pp. 151-152.

[72] See for example the funerals of Bernard of Clairvaux and Edmund of Abingdon, Griesser, *Exordium magnum* II, C. XX, pp. 116-117, *The Life of St Edmund of Abingdon by Matthew Paris* (ed.) C. Laurence (Stroud, 1996) p. 90.

[73] Sykes, *Inventing Sempringham*, p. 150.

[74] *The Book of Gilbert*, pp. 103-5. He also administered punishment while absent. Arriving at a house to investigate a kitchen fire, he ordered the guilty party to confess. When no-one did, he swore that they would be compelled to do so. Later a nun found herself in pain, and sought absolution, Ibid., p. 103.

[75] A miracle recorded in the informal collection relates an incidence at Catley. There, a nun angry with her sisters called the Devil's name and 'fell to the ground like one dead' ('*Cuius mole depresa corruit in terram, mortue simillima', The Book of Gilbert*, p. 311). On the second night of her illness she had a vision of three men passing by her bed; St Clement, St Andrew, and St Gilbert. The nun was born in a village where the church was dedicated to St Clement, and St Andrew the original patron at Sempringham (Ibid., p. 313). St Clement asked St Gilbert to take pity on the nun, but he refused, saying that she had spurned the rules and discipline of the order. Eventually

In addition to the tomb, various contact relics were important in the cult, such as Gilbert's staff, girdle, coverlet, cloak, and shoes, grass he had walked on, and water that had washed his body.[76] Members of the order had freer access to these relics. A nun at Chicksands drank the water which had washed Gilbert's body to cure her pain.[77] The water also cured the pain of the prioress of Halverholme,[78] and a nun from Chicksands who had a fishbone stuck in her throat.[79] Juliana, a nun of Sempringham who suffered from leprosy, reported to be cured after being prompted by a vision of the Virgin to spend the night at Gilbert's tomb.[80]

The manner in which access was granted to different groups of pilgrims demonstrates that there was an effort to maintain an aura of exclusive access to the saint. Pilgrims were visited by Gilbert in visions, but the travel they undertook is present in each story. Access to the contact relics kept away from Sempringham was restricted.[81] The first three miracles recounted in the informal collection relate to Gilbert's staff, which was kept by John de Lacy, constable of Chester. After the miracle in which the staff was broken into three pieces, it was shared between the castle chapel, the hospital at the priory, and John's personal collection, demonstrating the connection between the order, community, and individual patrons.[82] The same important patron

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Clement encouraged the nun to make her confession, after which Gilbert gave her absolution and a blessing. The nun was apparently only partially cured; she remained in her bed a further fortnight, and despaired 'of ever again being able to recover completely her former bodily health' ('*Pristinamque sui corporis ualitudinem se deinceps posse ex integro recuperare adhuc diffidit*', Ibid., p. 315). The commentary on the miracle emphasises the importance of the scrupulous performance of vows, and the proper veneration of saints and their shrines; 'the more devout we have been in their worship the more swiftly they come to our aid' ('*Promtiores apparent adiutores, quorum deuotiores fuerimus cultores*,' Ibid., p. 315).

[76] For miracles related to the staff see *The Book of Gilbert,* Miracles 1b, 2b, 3b, pp. 305-9; the girdle see Miracles 8, 5b, pp. 273-5, 309-11, the coverlet see Miracle 11b, p. 317; cloak see Miracle 10, p. 279, shoes see Miracle 30, p. 303, and grass see Miracle 19b, p. 325. For miracles relating to 'the water of St Gilbert' see Miracles 5, 10, 14, 16, 18, 27, 28, 29 pp. 271, 277, 281, 285, 301, 303.

[77] *The Book of Gilbert*, p. 276.

[78] Ibid., p. 281.

[79] Ibid., p. 285. Other cures administered to members of the order included a nun at Chicksands with an injured foot who was reportedly cured by Gilbert's liturgical towel, and the sub-prior of Sixhills who was suffering from a fever and reported being cured by Gilbert's girdle. Ibid., p. 287, p. 309.

[80] Ibid., pp. 283-4.

[81] Rudd, 'Reading Miracles at Sempringham', p. 130.

[82] Ibid., p. 126.

possessed Gilbert's scapular, which had been given to him by Roger, Gilbert's successor.[83] The continuing protection of St Gilbert for these important local families was reinforced through the location of, and access to, the relics. The saint was available to protect castle Donnington, and John would continue to protect the order's foundations.[84]

The rest of Gilbert's posthumous miracles diverge from the Cistercian pattern, and visions are employed to direct pilgrims to the tomb at Sempringham. In each case, the importance of the tomb as the location of the miracle is reinforced. The first miracle related in the formal collection, for example, describes the cure of Simon, then a lay man but since a member of the order, who had withered limbs. In a dream he was told, 'if you want to be well, this very day go and visit the tomb of Master Gilbert of Sempringham'.[85] Simon followed this instruction and travelled to the tomb, where St Gilbert appeared again in a dream, and told him he was cured.[86]

The use of visions to encourage pilgrimage to a saints' tomb was common in other non-Cistercian cults. The *Miracula Sancti Ithamari Episcopi* contains nineteen miracles, and was composed around the middle of the twelfth century. St Ithamar was briefly mentioned by Bede, but not included in the eleventh-century *Secgan,* or texts connected to Rochester, the *Vita Gundulfi* and *Textus Roffensis*.[87] The real Ithamar was bishop of Rochester from 644-c.655.[88] Here, a twelfth-century cult developed around an Old English saint. The Norman Conquest resulted in the introduction of French clergy and an English conservative reaction, which included a revival of piety from the age of Bede. The new arrivals were often sceptical of the

[83] *The Book of Gilbert*, p. 290.
[84] Rudd, 'Reading Miracles at Sempringham', p. 135.
[85] '*Si uis sanus fieri, hoc eodem die uisita sepulchrum magistri Gilberti de Sempringham'*, *The Book of Gilbert* p. 264.
[86] *The Book of Gilbert,* p. 267.
[87] S. Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-century England* (Oxford 2006) p. 101.
[88] D. T. Bethell, 'The Miracles of St Ithamar'*, Analecta Bollandiana*. 89, (1971) pp. 421–437, p. 421.

English cults, typified by the clash between Lanfranc and St Anselm over the authenticity of the cult of St Alphege at Canterbury.[89] Bethell suggests that interest in reviving such a cult could be financial, prestige-driven, or part of an urge to recover the past.[90] Anglo-Saxon saints became symbolic of the old language, literature and devotion.[91] Various other native cults were reinterpreted for a Norman audience following the Conquest, Osbern of Canterbury, for example, rewrote the *vitae* of Dunstan and Aelfheah in the 1080s.[92]

In contrast to the texts composed by Cistercian authors which sought to discourage pilgrimage, the *Miracula Sancti Ithamari Episcopi* aimed to increase the audience for the cult. The primary role of visions in the *vita* was to encourage pilgrimage to the tomb. Ithamar's relics had been translated in the mid-1080s, and at the time a spate of healing miracles occurred. Ithamar was said to have appeared to sufferers in visions, encouraging them to 'report their cures at his feretory'.[93] A second translation occurred in the 1130s. The event included a public procession and crowds of laity. The miracle recipients are described as the monks of Rochester and local lay people; the majority of the stories that note a place of origin specify Rochester or the surrounding areas in Kent.[94] In addition to contact with the tomb, pilgrims were able to receive water that had been poured over the feet of the shrine.[95] The creation of additional contact relics in this manner was popularised by the cult of Thomas Becket in this period, and seen in several Benedictine cults.[96]

[89] Bethell, 'The Miracles of St Ithamar', p. 422.
[90] Ibid., pp. 423-4.
[91] Ibid., p. 424.
[92] Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Historiography and the Norman Transition', pp. 396-403, 403-412.
[93] Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities,* p. 103.
[94] Ibid., p. 112.
[95] Bethell, 'The Miracles of St Itamar', p. 426.
[96] For a discussion of the different approaches to contact relics in the cults of Thomas Becket and Bernard of Clairvaux, see Chapter 2 Section 3.

St Frideswide was the subject of a brief *vita* by William of Malmesbury, itself the summary of a longer twelfth-century *vita* composed between 1100 and 1300. This text was re-written by the prior of Augustinian St Frideswide's, Robert of Cricklade, in around 1140-1170. Another text describes the 1180 translation of the saint's relics and subsequent miracles.[97] Frideswide was an Anglo-Saxon saint, a virgin and a nun. The miracle collection contains 110 stories. The author, Prior Philip, recorded pilgrims' previous attempts to cure their illnesses, their place of origin, and any witnesses to the cure. Cures predominantly occurred at the tomb. According to the collection, St Thomas Becket appeared in visions and referred pilgrims to the Oxford cult. The appearance of Becket in the text suggests that the community was concerned they would lose pilgrims to the more famous saint. In inserting Becket into the accounts, Philip raised Frideswide's standing and status.

Other twelfth-century cults also emphasised the posthumous miracles in their collections in contrast to the Cistercians. Erkenwald was a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon monk, who founded the Benedictine houses of Barking and Chertsey, and later bishop of London and the East Saxons. Recognised as a saint by Bede, he was the subject of a twelfth-century *vita* and a separate collection of *miracula*. As the patron saint of London, his cult survived until the Reformation. The *Vita Sancti Erkenwaldi* is a composite work, drawing on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and other shorter works, composed between 1087 and 1124. The *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi* was composed between 1140-1145, by Arcoid, a canon of St Paul's cathedral.[98] The *miracula* stress the survival of Erkenwald's bodily relics, and it is the

[97] J. Blair, 'Saint Frideswide Reconsidered', *Oxoniensia* 52, (1987), pp. 71-127.
[98] Whatley, *The Saint of London,* p. 24. One copy of the VSE is contained within London BL Cotton Claudius A.v, alongside Robert of Shrewsbury's *vitae* and *miraculae* of St Winifred, and anonymous *vita* of St Neot, and William of Malmesbury's *vita* of Wulfstan of Worcester. The manuscript belonged to the Cistercian house of Holm Cultram. Whatley has suggested that the choice of these saints demonstrates the monks' interest in Cistercian and Cluniac traditions, as well as early English hagiography more generally. Other Holm Cultram devotional manuscripts include the *vitae* of Alan and Amphibulus, Ulric [Wulfric] of Haselbury, Bee of Northumbria, Aldhem, and John of Beverley (BL Cotton Faustina B. iv) as well as Anselm and the Cluniac saints Maiolus, Odilo, and Odo (Harvard College Lat. 27). Ibid., p. 1.

tomb that became the centre of the cult.[99] The physical location of St Erkenwald's tomb was important to Arcoid. While it has been demonstrated in this thesis that Cistercian authors saw the principle value of hagiography as the moral patterns therein, Arcoid emphasised the power of the deceased saint, rather than during his virtues during life. Whatley states that 'the materialism and carnality of Erkenwald's relics […] is precisely what Arcoid delights in contemplating'.[100] Posthumous miracles were evidence of the power of Erkenwald's intercession. They were publicised to increase the prestige of the saint and St Pauls. Gaining pilgrims had an explicit economic benefit in this text, connected to the creation of a new shrine for the saint.

The *vita* of Modwenna of Burton was composed by Geoffrey, abbot from 1114. He enlarged and revised a *vita* of Modwenna attributed to Conchubranus (fl.c.1050-c.1150) and added recent miracle stories.[101] These additional accounts are evidence of the community's continued interest in Modwenna, and the economic benefit her cult provided. When Cistercian authors were presented with similar opportunities to add more recent miracles to their text, they do not appear to have done so to the same extent. Aelred of Rievaulx, for example, rewrote the *vita* of St Ninian, a fourth or fifth century missionary, between 1152 and 1160.[102] Aelred drew on passages in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* and an unknown life in 'an extremely barbarous style'.[103] It seems Aelred was commissioned to write the *vita* by the bishop of Whithorn, the see established by St Ninian. The text mentions 'the clergy and people of your holy church,

[99] Whatley, *The Saint of London,* p. 58-9. The original relic for the cult was the wooden litter used to carry the saint. Bede states that people would pluck splinters from the litter, and take them to sufferers too ill to visit the shrine. It is possible that this relic survived until the great fire of 1087, but by the time the *vita* was written, the litter was referred to in the past tense.
[100] Ibid., p. 56.
[101] R. Bartlett, 'The Miracles of Saint Modwenna of Burton', *Staffordshire Studies*, viii (1996), pp. 24-35, p. 28.
[102] Dutton 'Introduction' in *Aelred of Rievaulx, Lives of the Northern Saints*, p. 10.
[103] *Life of Ninian,* Prologue, *Aelred of Rievaulx, Lives of the Northern Saints*, trans. J. P. Freeland, pp. 35-36. This unknown prose life may also have been the source for the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* c. 800. See J. MacQueen, *St Nynia: A Study of Literary and Linguistic Evidence* (Edinburgh, 1961).

who have a wonderful affection for this saint of God under whose patronage they live'.[104] The emphasis on the physical church suggests the text was written for an important occasion in the life of the cathedral, such as the consecration of Christian as bishop on 19 December 1154,[105] or the request of Gilla-Alden, for the dedication of the new cathedral or translation of Ninian's relics.[106]

Astell has demonstrated that Aelred described six miracles from Ninian's life and related them to the six days of creation.[107] These miracles highlight the importance of conversion and obedience to authority.[108] The second book contains Ninian's posthumous miracles, where 'at his most sacred tomb the infirm are cured, lepers are cleansed, the wicked are cast into fear, and the blind are enlightened'.[109] Rather than taking the opportunity to add many recent examples as Geoffrey of Burton did for St Modwenna, Aelred provided summaries of types; a boy who was crippled, a man with a skin condition, a blind girl, two lepers. The contrition of the pilgrims and mercy of God are prominent in each story.[110]

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[104] *Life of Ninian,* Prologue, p. 36. Freeland's translation from '*Vita Niniani'*, *Vitae antiquae sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus insulis* (ed.) J. Pinkerton, (London, 1789) pp. 1-23, 439-456.

[105] Dutton 'Introduction' in *Aelred of Rievaulx, Lives of the Northern Saints*, p. 11.

[106] B. P. McGuire argues for a date of 1130-33, before Aelred entered Rievaulx. *Aelred of Rievaulx*, xvii, 42-3, 45.

[107] A. W. Astell, 'To Build the Church: Saint Aelred of Rievaulx's Hexameral Miracles in the *Life of Ninian'*, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* (2014) 49, 4, pp. 455-82, especially at p. 457.

[108] The first two miracles relate to darkness and light. As a missionary saint, Ninian shone a light into the darkness through conversion; in the first miracle, he cures the blindness of the king Tuduvallus, who had previously opposed him. In the second, he commanded an infant to speak, to defend an innocent priest against the accusation of fornication (*Life of Ninian,* pp. 44-48). The third and fourth miracles relate to vegetation and grass-eating animals. In the third miracle, Ninian commands a brother to find food in a previously infertile garden. When the brother obeys, vegetables are found. The accompanying miracle is centred on a would-be cattle thief. The thief is gorged to death by a bull, resurrected by Ninian, and converted to Christianity along with his comrades *(Life of Ninian,* pp. 49-52). The importance of obedience to superiors is evident, as well as Ninian's role in encouraging conversion. The fifth miracle demonstrates Ninian's control of nature. When Ninian and his companion Plebia were reading their psalters on a journey, a storm broke out, but their books were miraculously protected. In the sixth miracle Ninian's staff worked a miracle at sea, away from the saint. A boy oblate had stolen the staff, and made his escape on a coracle. Finding himself in danger of drowning, he repented and prayed to Ninian through the staff. He then found himself safely on the shore, where he planted the staff and watched it turn into a tree (*Life of Ninian,* pp. 54-6).

[109] *Life of Ninian,* p. 59.

[110] For the brief account of curative miracles, see pp. 59-62.

Aelred's presentation of this limited selection of miracles aligns with the Cistercian patterns outlined in this chapter. Ninian is shown to fit into existing saintly models, but travel to his tomb is not encouraged or presented as necessary, and Aelred does not emphasise public or communal worship. Rather than focus on works of wonder, Cistercian authors underlined the virtues and good works that could inspire similar acts in their audience. Aelred decided to highlight Ninian's missionary work and mercy. In the descriptions of the (few) healing miracles the moral character of the pilgrim is important, demonstrating their penitence and how they deserved God's mercy. The lay audience to whom this text was directed were encouraged to identify with the virtues of both the saint and the pilgrims, and amend their behaviour accordingly. In describing Ninian's missionary activities, Aelred was able to write favourably about church reform. St Ninian was presented as an ideal bishop, educating priests and converting lay people.

In contrast Geoffrey described thirty miracles attributed to St Modwenna, twelve at length and eighteen summarised in the final chapter, dating from c.1060 to the 1120s or 1130s. All of the healing miracles described by Geoffrey took place at the shrine in the abbey church of Burton, after prayer or vigil. Bartlett notes that the most common ailments are blindness and crippling diseases.[111] The creation of a new shrine is mentioned in passing in several accounts, as is the portability of the relics when needed for processions of protection against fire or storms.[112] The pilgrims are often described as leaving symbols or tokens of their cure, such as crutches, or candles or coins. In one case a supplicant was taken by the abbot to see Matilda, wife of Henry I, to relay his cure. This led to the abbey's receipt of gifts from the queen.[113] Material considerations are evident in the punishment miracles in the collection. Their presence

[111] Bartlett, 'The Miracles of Saint Modwenna of Burton', p. 28.
[112] Ibid., p. 29.
[113] Ibid., p. 29.

can be explained by the vulnerability of the monks; the saint needed to protect their rights and property.[114]

Overall, while several of Gilbert of Sempringham's posthumous miracles follow a similar pattern to the Cistercian texts and demonstrate the importance of the saint's links to the monastic community, the texts do diverge. Even when the miracle recipient is a nun or canon, the cure often occurs in relation to a contact relic or at the tomb. The privileged access granted to the order's patrons reflects the precarious nature of Gilbertine endowments. The localised nature of the cult is evident in the number of lay pilgrims travelling to the tomb at Sempringham; Gilbert's appearance in visions encouraging these visits is far closer to the practice of the Benedictine cults than the Cistercian ones.

When the cults of SS Ithamar, Frideswide, Modwenna, and Erkenwald are considered, the similarity in attitude between the Benedictines, Augustinian and Regular Canons is apparent. In the texts associated with these cults the tomb is an important locus for miracles, and visions are often employed to encourage pilgrimage. Recipients could come from far and wide. The Cistercian texts, on the other hand, prioritised visions that edified or reassured members of the monastic community, and pilgrims were portrayed as a disruptive influence whose access needed to be curtailed. The hagiography thus demonstrates attitudes to sacred objects and their veneration, and the image the Order wanted to portray. This perspective will be shown to be present in the texts composed by Cistercian authors for extra-Cistercian cults as well.

[114] Bartlett, 'The Miracles of Saint Modwenna of Burton', p. 30-35.

2. Reshaping existing hagiography

The importance of this mode of presenting Cistercian miracles is evident in the hagiography authors from the Order wrote on commission for external patrons, which often involved the revision of existing texts. Changes then can be seen as part of a 'conscious process of omission or addition'.[115] These changes might reflect a new political or cultural context, as in the case of an Anglo-Saxon saint being repurposed following the Conquest. The background of the author, and their educational or institutional context, will have affected literary expression. When Cistercian monks wrote for external audiences their interest in imitable virtues rather than posthumous miracles still stands out. These decisions demonstrate that the appropriate way to venerate sacred objects or to appreciate visions was a key concern of the authors. This section will focus on the *vita Edwardi* written by Aelred of Rievaulx as an example of a Cistercian author reshaping an existing *vita* for an established cult. The *vita Edwardi* is a useful case study as both Aelred's version and his source text survive, providing a clear picture of the changes made.

Aelred of Rievaulx was the author of popular historical works including the *Genealogy of the Kings of the English*, and *The Battle of the Standard*.[116] These works were written in the model of mirrors for princes, offering advice and examples on Christian life and virtues.[117] Aelred's interest in imitable virtues found expression in the hagiographical work he composed for audiences' other than the members of his order: *vitae* of Edward the Confessor, the saints of Hexham, and of St Ninian (composed c.1163, 1155, and 1154-60).

[115] Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives', p. 602.
[116] For a discussion of Cistercian historical writing, including these texts, see E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian historical writing in England, c. 1150-1220* (Turnhout, 2002).
[117] Dutton 'Introduction' in *Aelred of Rievaulx, Lives of the Northern Saints*, p. 9.

The first *vita* for Edward the Confessor was written before 1075, and is evidence that the popular perception of the king's sanctity was based on posthumous healing miracles that occurred at the tomb.[118] In 1163 the body of Edward the Confessor was translated at Westminster Abbey. Aelred was asked to compose a new *vita*, based on a work written by Osbert of Clare in 1138.[119] Osbert was a monk and prior of Westminster Abbey. He submitted his *vita* to the papal legate, archbishop Alberic of Ostia, in 1138, and was advised to take his request to the curia. This first request for canonisation was denied.[120] The successful request in 1161 was comprised of Osbert's *vita* plus further testimonies by bishops and abbots, a further collection of miracles, and the claim that Edward's body remained incorrupt.[121]

Osbert's text framed Edward's sanctity around the relationship between the saint and Westminster Abbey. Throughout the text Osbert emphasised Edward's role as a patron of the abbey.[122] The post-mortem miracles Osbert included also focused on the importance of the locus of the tomb at Westminster. In the first miracle a cripple named Radulf was cured at the tomb.[123] This was followed by the cure of six bind men and one monocular man, again at the tomb.[124] Edward also appeared in a vision to a bind bell-ringer at Westminster in a dream and restored his vision.[125]

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[118] B. W. Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor', *Speculum*, 36, 1 (1961), pp. 38-60, p. 38. For further reading, see R. W. Southern, 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor', *The English Historical Review*, 58, 232 (1943), pp. 385-400 and E. K. Heningham, 'The Genuineness of the *Vita AEduardi Regis'*, *Speculum*, 21, 4 (1946) pp. 419-456.
[119] K. Yohe, 'Aelred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward the Confessor', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* (2003) 38, 2, pp. 177-189, p. 177. M. Bloch 'La vie de S Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandia* XLI (1923) pp. 5-131.
[120] For background on the political context surrounding the canonisation request, see Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor'.
[121] Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor', pp. 49-51.
[122] B. Briggs, *The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare* (PhD Thesis, St Andrews, 2004) p. 70.
[123] Osbert of Clare, *Vita S Eadwardi*, in 'La vie de S Edouard Ie Confesseur', pp. 112-3.
[124] *Vita S Eadwardi*, 113-4.
[125] Ibid., p. 116.

In the changes Aelred made to Osbert's text, his own interests are evident.[126] Aelred's new *vita* emphasised the importance of virtues over supernatural powers. The work was dedicated to Henry II, and in the prologue Aelred was explicit about the purpose of hagiography as encouragement for the audience to strive for perfection, and endeavour to imitate the model described. This commendation both began and ended the prefatory letter, the first exhortation implicit, the latter explicit. Aelred stated that:

> Nothing encourages and incites the human mind to the emulation of perfection more than reading and hearing the virtues of any of the perfect, learning their way of life, and considering their renown, for no one should think impossible for himself what he knows another has done.[127]

The letter ended with the same message: 'May you commend yourself frequently to his prayers, commit yourself earnestly to his protection, and strive to imitate his sanctity so that you may obtain eternal happiness with him.'[128] In 1153-4 Aelred had addressed his *Genealogy of the Kings of the English* to Henry, again with the intention of offering a model of sanctity for the young king to follow.[129] Taken together these texts portray the Plantagenet kings as heirs to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, who valued the cooperation of crown and church. In the *Genealogy* this cooperation is modelled by St Dunstan, in the *vita* of Edward the Confessor, by St Wulfstan.

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[126] The *Vita S. Edwardi* has not yet received a critical edition, but the text from the seventeenth-century *Historiae Anglicana Scriptores*, (ed.) R. Twysden and J. Seiden (London: Cornelius Bee, 1652), appears among Aelred's works in PL 195:738-90 . The most recent English translation is 'The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor,' in *Aelred of Rievaulx, The Historical Works*, trans. J. P. Freeland, (ed.) M. L. Dutton, (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005), pp. 123-243.

[127] '*Nihil enim magis ad aemulationem perfectionis animum humanum provocat et accendit, quam quorumlibet perfectorum legere vel audire virtutes, mores addiscere, glorium aestimare; cum impossible sibi nullus debeat arbitrary, quod alium fecisse cognoverit; nec possit haesitare de praemio si bene vixerit legerit assecutum'*, *Vita* Ed, Prologue, PL 195:737. Translation from M. L. Dutton, 'The Staff in the Stone: Finding Arthur's Sword in the '*Vita Sancti Edwardi'* of Aelred of Rievaulx', *Arthuriana*, 17, 3, (2007), pp. 3-30, pp. 190-20.

[128] '*Ejus te precibus crebro commendes, ejus te sedulo protectioni committas, imitari quoque satagas ejus sanctitatem, ut aeternam cum eo obtineas felicitatem'*, *Vita S. Edwardi*, Prologue, PL 195:739-40. Translation from Dutton, 'The Staff in the Stone', p. 20.

[129] See M. L. Dutton, '*Sancto Dunstano Cooperante*: Collaboration between King and Ecclesiastical Advisor in Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogy of the Kings of the English'* in E. Jamroziak and J. Burton (eds.) *Religious and Laity in Northern Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turhnout, 2007), pp. 183-95.

Aelred's version of the miracle of the staff places a new emphasis on the role of humility. In both texts this story demonstrates King Edward's continuing interest in the English church after his death. In Osbert's version, St Wulfstan thrust his staff into Edward's tomb following a dispute with Archbishop Lanfranc during a church synod. Other bishops failed to remove the staff. Eventually Lanfranc confessed his error in trying to depose Wulfstan, who stated that only Edward could reinstate him as bishop of Worcester. Wulfstan turned to the tomb and asked Edward if he stood by his appointment. The staff reportedly left the tomb with ease. Osbert used the legend of St Wulfstan to further exemplify the importance of Edward's tomb at Westminster.[130]

As Dutton has noted in Aelred's version the pattern of events is the same, but Wulfstan's humility and simplicity are highlighted: Wulfstan gives a speech relating his reluctance about the initial appointment, sits among the monks rather than the bishops while the others try to remove the staff, and Lanfranc eventually states:

> I scorned your righteous simplicity, brother, but it has brought your righteousness forth as the light and your judgment as the noonday [...] God has roused his spirit in the king. He has voided our decision and *has manifested to everyone your simplicity, which is pleasing to God.*[131]

Aelred's retelling of this incident demonstrates his focus on humility as the founding virtue. That the work was addressed to Henry II and included an explicit example for the relationship between church and state is evidence of his interest in ecclesiastic reform, a theme present in his other writing.

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[130] Briggs, *The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare* p. 58.
[131] 'The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor', pp. 222, 224. '*Derisa est a nobis tua, frater, justa simplicitas, sed eduxit quasi lumen justitiam tuam et Judicium tuum tanquam meridiem...suscitavit Deus in rege suo spiritum suum, qui nostram evacuaret sententiam, et simplicitatem tuam Deo gratam omnibus propalaret' Vita S. Edwardi* 36, PL 195:780, 781. My emphasis.

Aelred's revisions highlighted the virtues of chastity, generosity, humility and justice as being as important as the miracle. Yohe has demonstrated how this applied to the descriptions of sufferers, when Aelred devoted time to exploring the social consequences of illness before the cure,[132] and to Edward the Confessor, whose charity was highlighted.[133] The king's simplicity and patience were demonstrated though his interaction with the healing process, in one instance washing his hands and applying the water to the sick person himself.[134] In one miracle, Edward gave a ring as alms to a pauper. The pauper later revealed himself to be St John the Baptist, and returned the ring. This story proved so popular that it played a large part in Edward's later iconographical representation.[135] As noted above, Aelred's own charity was emphasised as more important than his miracles by his biographer Walter Daniel. Yohe's argument can be extended by placing the new version of the *vita Edwardi* in the context of twelfth-century Cistercian hagiographic tropes, highlighting the pattern in Aelred's changes. The new *vita* clearly fits within the twelfth-century Cistercian mentality demonstrated at the start of this chapter.

Aelred's version of the *vita* was by far his most popular work; there are thirty extant manuscripts.[136] There were late-twelfth century translations of the work into Anglo-Norman verse and prose, and later translations into English, French, and Icelandic prose, and Latin, English, and French verse.[137] Passages from the *vita* also gained an audience as part of the lections for the feast day of the Confessor.[138] In contrast, Aelred's other works did not receive

[132] Yohe, 'Aelred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward the Confessor', p. 180.
[133] McGuire, *Aelred of Rievaulx,* p. 73.
[134] J. P. Bequette, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*: A Saintly King and the Salvation of the English People', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 43, 1, (2008) pp. 17-40, pp. 32-5.
[135] Dutton, 'The Staff in the Stone', p. 7.
[136] A. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana, Instrumenta Patristica* 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), pp. 123-26.
[137] G. E. Moore, *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, PA, 1942), pp. xix-xxxii, xliv-xlvii. On the twelfth-century Anglo Norman versions see Powicke, 'La Vie d Edouard le Confesseur'.
[138] J.W. Legg, (ed.), *Missale ad usum ecclesia Westmonasteriensis 3* (1891-97): pp. 1343-44, pp. 1347-48; cited in Barlow, *Edward,* p. 281.

the same level of circulation. The *vita* of St Ninian exists in three manuscripts, the *relatio de standardo* in three manuscripts, and the *vitae* of the saints of Hexham in four manuscripts.[139]

Aelred's *vita Edwardi* is evidence for the strength of the Cistercian perspective on the varying importance of different aspects of a saints' cult and hagiography. This chapter began by arguing that twelfth-century Cistercian hagiography contained distinctive patterns: the emphasis on members of the Order as miracle recipients, the de-centring of the tomb, and the prominence of imitable virtues for readers to model their own behaviour on. In the changes made to the *vita Edwardi* it is clear that Aelred chose to emphasise the virtues of the saint and his pilgrims over the potential for posthumous healing miracles. The unique Cistercian approach to saints and relics evident in the cults controlled by their monasteries and exemplified in the management of the cults of SS Malachy and Bernard at Clairvaux, extended into hagiography the authors composed for external audiences.

3. Incorporating cults and modifying hagiography

The divergence of Cistercian authors from traditional Benedictine practice also suggests that newly incorporated cults would have faced a decision regarding the different attitudes towards the potential public role of a cult. The changes evident in the hagiography of Savigny and Obazine reinforces the idea that Cistercian practice was distinctive, and that the process of incorporation affected the cult in question and the Order. Hagiography is again shown to be a useful source for Cistercian attitudes to sacred objects, materiality, and lay access to monastic areas.

[139] E. Freeman, 'Aelred as a historian among the historians', *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx,* pp. 113-148, p. 141.

Throughout the twelfth century the Cistercians absorbed other foundations. In addition to the Congregation of Savigny and Obazine Abbey, the incorporated houses included individual houses that previously identified as Benedictine, small hermitages, and a group of hermitages founded by Gerald of Salles in southern France.[140] The background of these houses matters because they may have had very different traditions of lay access prior to incorporation. Some of these additions were the result of active Cistercian recruitment. Bernard's preaching campaign in the Midi in around 1145 saw the incorporation of Grandselve and Valmagne. The visit of Walter of Morimond to Gascony around 1142 resulted in the incorporation of Gimont, Villelongue, Berdoues, L'Escaldieu, and Bonnefont.[141] Of the incorporations in southern France explored by Berman, the communities joined under Morimond, Pontigny, and Cîteaux, as well as Clairvaux.[142]

This section will focus on the *vitae* of the saints of Savigny and St Stephen of Obazine. This focus has been determined by the scale of the Congregation of Savigny with houses on both sides of the English Channel, and the surviving material related both to saints' cults and evidence for the impact of incorporation of other aspects of life, devotional and otherwise. The abbey of Obazine, and its sister house of Croyoux, were founded by St Stephen, following a period as an itinerant preacher and hermit. The community joined the Cistercians in 1147. The total number of Savigniac houses in France and elsewhere is unclear. Holdsworth has identified about thirty altogether; ten in Normandy, six in the rest of France, and fourteen or fifteen in

[140] C. H. Berman, 'Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians. A Study of Forty-Three Monasteries', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 76, 5 (1986), pp. 1-179, pp. 135-6.
[141] C. H. Berman, 'Origins of the Filiation of Morimond in Southern France', p. 257, 261, 276.
[142] Berman, 'Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians', Table 1, pp. 135-6.

England, Wales, Isle of Man and Ireland.[143] Savigny lobbied to become the head of its own filiation, but in practice was Clarevellian.

Writing in 1197, Philip of Byland recorded that in 1148 thirteen Savigniac houses, presumably in England and Wales, 'subjected [themselves] to the church of Clairvaux and the order of Cîteaux'.[144] Aelred of Rievaulx sent monks to the incorporated house of Swineshead, to 'illuminate it with the Cistercian way of life'.[145] This suggests a period of re-education following incorporation. That such re-education was not always popular is evident in the appeal of Abbot Peter of Furness to the pope that the house be allowed to retain the observance with which it had been founded, despite the merger. In the event Eugenius III issued *Cum omnibus* on 10 October 1149, preventing this attempt at independence, and Peter was forced to resign the abbacy.[146] Such an appeal indicates a resistance to a substantial change in the lives of the monks. If the merger did not represent a change to observance, such a request would not have been made.

The abbey of Savigny was founded in 1113 by Vitalis, after a period as a hermit and preacher. The abbey and its daughter houses were incorporated in 1147.[147] The *vitae* of Vitalis (c.1060-1122), his successor as abbot, Godfrey of Bayeux (1122-1139), and two monks, Hamo (d.1173) and Peter of Avranches (d.c.1172) are extant, as is a translation account from 1243.

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[143] C. Holdsworth, 'The Afflilation of Savigny', in M. L. Dutton, D. M LaCorte and P. Lockey (eds.) *Truth as Gift: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History in Honour of J. R. Sommerfeldt* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2004), pp. 43-88, p. 54, footnote 24.

[144] J. Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx* (York, 2006) p. 23.

[145] *Nam idem frater missus cum domino Daniele patre meo et quibusdam aliis de domo nostra a viro venerabili Alredo ad abbathiam quamdam religione Cisterciensi ab eis illuminandam, nominee Swinesheud, in redevundo domi apropinquabat.* 'For this same brother was nearing home on his return from a mission on which the venerable Ailred had sent him, along with my father Daniel and certain others of the houses, to the abbey of Swineshead to illuminate it with the Cistercian way of life'. *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel,* p. 35.

[146] H. Feiss, M. M. O'Brien and R. Pepin (ed. and trans.) *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, II: Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, Abbot Godfrey of Savigny, Peter of Avranches, and Blessed Hamo* (Collegeville, MI, 2014), p. 29.

[147] For the debates surrounding the date of incorporation and the manuscript evidence, see Waddell, C., 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C.H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources' *Cîteaux: Commentari Cistercienses* 51 (2000) pp. 299-386.

These texts demonstrate the changing place of preaching and lay contact at the abbey, and the increased emphasis on conversion and contemplation. The account of the 1243 translation is evidence for a greater degree of public veneration than fits with the Cistercian pattern described above.

Vitalis had been the chaplain to Robert of Mortain and a canon of Saint-Evroult. After converting to the eremitic life, he became an itinerant preacher, a practice which does not seem to have ceased when the community became more formalised and he became the abbot.[148] As Feiss noted, this preaching was 'hardly characteristic of Cistercian observance' given the Order's rhetoric of isolation.[149] Given the Cistercian impetus behind Vitalis' life, the emphasis on preaching needs to be explored. The *vita* was composed by Stephen of Fougères around 1170, but this was based on an earlier French account. That the earlier account was in the vernacular perhaps reflects the more open nature of the Savigniacs, who had welcomed the crowds who came to hear them preach.[150] Stephen of Fougères was the bishop of Rennes at the time of composition; he had previously been an official in the court of Henry II of England, and a canon of Saint-Evroult. Stephen appears to have been commissioned by the monks at Savigny, by the 1170s members of the Cistercian order. The text coincides with architectural work on the church, as the east end gained radiating chapels similar to those at Clairvaux.[151]

Vitalis' preaching is described as a calling, comparable to Stephen's own mission as a writer.[152] Vitalis' success as a preacher and wise monastic founder were prophesied from his

[148] For an account of the effectiveness of Vitalis' preaching, see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8:27.
[149] Feiss, et al *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, II,* p. x.
[150] Grant, 'Savigny and its Saints', p. 113.
[151] See Chapter 2 Section 3 for a discussion of the rebuilding at Clairvaux and the tombs of St Bernard and St Malachy.
[152] H. Feiss, '*Seminiverbius*: Preaching in the *Vita* of Vitalis of Savigny', *American Benedictine Review*, 63, (2012), pp. 257-266, p. 260, *Life of Vitalis*, Prol. 1.1; 14.

childhood, and Stephen highlighted his subject's natural ability.[153] His time as the chaplain for the count of Mortain is portrayed as an opportunity for Vitalis to reach a wider audience, travelling with the count to England.[154] The *vita* states, 'when the holy man was travelling through parts of England in order to preach and was pouring out words of salvation to the inhabitants'.[155] The role of preaching as a method of conversion is an important theme, and here the Cistercian influence may be discerned. Vitalis convinced prostitutes to enter lawful marriages, and wives to end adultery, and showing compassion to prisoners.[156] His tirelessness and zeal were compared to those of other preachers:

> Entering a certain village, and neglecting hunger, he occupies himself with preaching. He prolongs his sermon almost until midday until, because a monk who was with him was complaining, the people realise how long he was fasting.[157]

The *vita* is explicit that Vitalis continued to preach after the founding of Savigny. In two episodes Vitalis is accompanied in his preaching, and these may have been monks at Savigny.[158] These divergences from Cistercian practice are possible because Stephen states that he is aiming to preserve Vitalis' memory. Feiss suggests that Stephen may have been trying to position Vitalis as a candidate for canonisation, and so appeal to a wider audience that the order alone, or perhaps have been reflecting on his own career regrets.[159] It seems equally likely that as Vitalis was known for his preaching, which was also the site of many of his miracles and acts

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[153] *Life of Vitalis* 1.1, 1.2.
[154] Ibid., 1.5, 2.11.
[155] Ibid., 2.5. p. 75. '*Aliquando, dum vir sanctus praedicationis causa Angliae partes peragraret et populis salutis verba diffunderet*…', E. P. Sauvage, 'Vitae BB. Vitalis et Gaufridi, primi et secondi abbatum saviniacensium in Normannia, nunc primum editae studio et opera E. P. Sauvage', *Analecta Bollandia* 1, (1882), pp. 355-410, p. 375.
[156] *Life of Vitalis* 1.9, 2.8, 2.5.
[157] Ibid., 1.14. p. 68. '*quamdam villam ingreditur, fameque posthabita, praedicationi occupatur, sermonque ab eo fere ad mediam diem protrahitur, monacho qui cum eo erat submurmurante, quod tamdiu jejunus erat a populo cognoscitur'*, 'Vitae BB. Vitalis et Gaufridi', p. 370.
[158] *Life of Vitalis* 1.14, 2.14, Feiss, '*Seminiverbius*', pp. 263-4.
[159] Feiss, '*Seminiverbius'* pp. 265-6.

of charity, ignoring his public presence was not feasible. Additionally, when read in conjunction with the other Savigniac *vitae*, the slow transition to Cistercian practice becomes evident.

The *vita* of Vitalis' successor, Godfrey (1122-38), emphasises that he preached only within monasteries of the order.[160] He founded new monasteries and acted informally as their *visitator.* He also established a General Chapter, perhaps by 1132, to be held at Savigny on the feast of the Holy Trinity.[161] Robert of Torigni and Orderic Vitalis observed the stricter discipline imposed by Godfrey during his tenure, though do not specify what these stricter observances were.[162] It seems that Godfrey's changes were influenced by the Cistercians and other contemporary reform movements. While incorporation did not occur until 1147, it seems probable that the changes made by Godfrey were the distinguishing factor that allowed incorporation at the same time that the Order of Sempringham's request failed.[163] The Cistercians appear to have chosen to accept houses whose practice and organisation was closer to their own to begin with.

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[160] *Life of Vitalis,* Ch. 13.
[161] *Life of Godfrey,* Ch. 114.
[162] *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbe du Mont-Saint-Michel: Suivie de divers opuscles historiques* (ed.) L. Delisle (Rouen, 1873), 2:189, '*Vitalis heremita, optimus seminiverbius, in confine Normanniae et minoris Britaniae, in vico Savinneio, monasterium aedificans, modernas institutions, in aliquibus Cisterciansibus similes, monachis suis imposuit. Huic successit Baiocensis Gaufridus, Cerasiensis monachus, vir admodum litteratus et in religione fervens. Hic multa monasteria aedificavit, et consuetudines prioribus arciores Savinniensibus imposuit'*. See also the *Historia ecclesiastica* 8.26 (PL 188:644 B), '*Quo defuncto, Bajocensis Goisfredus, ac Cersiacensis monachus, successit; qui et ipse immoderatis adventionibus studuit, durumque jugum super cervices discipulorum aggregavit'.*
[163] Feiss, '*Seminiverbius'* p. 265. In 1147 Gilbert travelled to the Cistercian General Chapter, to ask that his communities join their order. This was refused, probably on the basis that while nuns were part of the Cistercian order, they were not its focus (C. H. Berman, 'Were there twelfth-century Cistercian nuns?', *Church History*, 68, 4, (1999) pp. 824-864). The location and poverty of the Gilbertine houses, so far from Burgundy and a drain on the newly-founded Cistercian houses in the north of England, would also have made the proposition unattractive. Nevertheless, the request is interesting. In his *vita*, Gilbert is described as respecting the Cistercian order and the strictness of their religious observance (*The Book of St Gilbert*, p. 41). The author of the *vita* stressed Gilbert's friendship with Bernard and Malachy of Armagh (Golding, 'Hermits, Monks, and Women in Twelfth-Century France and England', p. 139). This may have been an exaggeration designed to deflect later criticisms of the Order, as Malachy only arrived at Clairvaux in October 1148 and had died by November. Cistercian influence can be seen in the Gilbertine statutes, but it is not certain that this was an outcome intended by the General Chapter.

The *vita* of the monk Hamo displays another shift towards the Cistercian mode of hagiography as described above. Hamo's *vita* survives in a twelfth-century manuscript, Cotton Nero A. XVI, two thirteenth-century texts, and four later copies.[164] Walker has noted the Cotton manuscript contains information missing from the other versions, suggesting that in the seventy or so years between the creations of the different texts, perceptions of sanctity or the purpose of the text changed. The earlier version of the *vita* has more details about Hamo's personality, spirituality and appearance, whereas the later version contains more of the common hagiographical tropes.[165] The date of the first *vita* may be significant; the author stated 'we speak of what we know and attest what we ourselves have seen'.[166] In the same manner as the Cistercian texts discussed above, and the *vita* of St Gilbert, the author had personal knowledge of his subject, and was able to describe his contemplative experiences.

The *vitae* of Hamo and Vitalis can be compared as the pastoral impulse was redirected. Vitalis emphasised the importance of the public work of preaching, whereas Hamo's concern was for individual souls.[167] The author stresses Hamo's contemplative experiences, perhaps to deflect criticism that he spent too much time in the world.[168] Hamo was devoted to the Eucharist, and a collector of relics.[169] Like the description of Wulfric of Haselbury in John of Forde's *vita* from the 1180s, Hamo's *simplicitas* is important, shining from his face, '*vir simplex erat … facie simplici et gratiosa*'.[170] Hamo's gift was in bringing people to the confessional,

[164] The Cotton manuscript was published in 1883; E. P. Sauvage, '*Vitae B. Petri Abrincensis et B. Hamonis monachorum coenobii saviniacensis*', *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883) pp.475-560.
[165] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 49, 51.
[166] *Vita Hamonis*, pp. 477-8, translation from Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 48.
[167] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 51.
[168] *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, II,* p. 33, *Vita Hamonis* Ch. 3, 10, 37.
[169] *Vita Hamonis* Ch. 3-10, 11-15, 22-26, 42-45.
[170] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 50. John of Forde presented Wulfric as a saint sympathetic to the Cistercian cause, rather than a member of the order. The community at Forde did not possess the anchorite's remains. Following a dispute between Forde and Montecute, the body was buried in the recluses' cell by order of the bishop of Bath, and later translated to an unmarked spot in the chancel. Only Osbern, the parish priest, knew the location of the second burial. Wulfric seems to have been accepted as a living saint, and the majority of the miracles described in the *vita* occurred while he was alive. Despite Wulfric's connection to the

and he was trusted with the care of souls for the lay brothers and nuns of Abbeye Blanche in Mortain.[171] The *vita* describes several meetings between Hamo and Henry II, an important patron for the abbey. The earliest meeting occurred between 1154 and 1165, but the connection was foreshadowed in a vision Hamo experienced when Henry was the duke of Normandy.[172] During their meetings, Hamo acted as Henry's confessor. In this instance Henry's status is important. While demonstrating an openness to the laity, such a close relationship with a powerful patron emphasises the exclusivity of the connection. That Henry valued his connection is evident in his decision to meet papal legates at Savigny in 1172, prior to the meeting at Avranches, to discuss the death of Thomas Becket.[173] The second *vita* of Hamo removed the references to Henry II, a relationship that may not have endeared Hamo to Pope Innocent IV.[174] This change indicates the second text was intended to form part of a canonisation bid.

The last text which describes the Savigniac cults is the *Liber de Miraculis Sanctorum Savigniacensium*. This book of miracles describes the rebuilding of the church and subsequent relic translation. The first translation occurred in 1182, when the abbots of Clairvaux and Savigny were present, together with nobles, knights, religious and lay folk. The second occurred in 1243, when the relics were placed in the newly-finished east end. The dedication ceremony of the church in 1220 adapted the dedication to the Trinity and Virgin Mary, perhaps reflecting Cistercian influence. The *Chronicle of Savigny* states 'it was done by five bishops and

priory at Montecute, he was fed by their cellarer, John stresses his links to Forde, and the moral ideals of the Cistercians. Wulfric's humility and simplicity are important throughout, both as key virtues and as guarantees for any miracles. Miracles were a sign that God was working through the saint, and this interested John more than the instances of healing or prophecy *per se.* P. Matarasso, 'Reading Saints Lives in Light of the Miracle Stories in John of Forde's Life of Wulfric of Haselbury', in S. Bhattachaji, R. Williams and D. Maltas (eds.) *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward, SLG* (London, 2014), pp. 211-228.

[171] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 51. *Vita Hamonis* Ch. 2, 38-42, 46-48.

[172] *Vita Hamonis*, pp. 539, Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 48.

[173] Fiess et al, *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, II,* p. 32.

[174] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' pp. 45-60.

innumerable devout and holy people'.[175] Walker notes that the *Liber* emphasises the effort expended in the events publicity and attendance, and that this collection of miracles was part of the community's attempt to secure papal recognition of their saints.[176]

The centralisation of the process of canonisation in the hands of the papacy thus impacted the development of cults and affected the format of the texts created. The continued access granted to lay pilgrims suggests that the changes made in the hagiography, emphasising conversion and contemplation over preaching, were not always carried into cult management. Perhaps, given the public nature of Vitalis' early preaching, such open ceremonies felt like a return to the community's roots.[177] It should be noted, however, that the cult of saints at Savigny remained localised. Despite the publicity that accompanied the translation of 1243, the miracles related by the *Liber de Miraculis* were essentially related to local people, rather than foreign pilgrims.[178]

As abbot of Savigny Stephen Lexington had approved the attempts to secure the canonisation of Hamo and his companions. After his election to the abbacy of Clairvaux he faced conflicting demands. By the 1240s the Order was working to promote the canonisation of St Edmund of Abingdon, and this focus prevented a sustained effort on to promote the saints at Savigny. The fastidious attention to access was also present at Pontigny. Soon after the funeral the bishops of Worcester, Exeter, and Norwich travelled to Pontigny, and postulated Edmund's sanctity. The political context of the tomb of an exiled archbishop and high-profile

[175] *In hoc anno [1220] fuit dedication Ecclesiae sanctae Trinitatis sanctaeque Marie de Savigneio. Facta fuit a quinque Episcopis et a populo innumerabili in devotione sancto, secto Idus Maij*. E. Baluze, *Chronicon Savigniacense: Miscellanearum liber secundus* (Paris, 1679), p. 318, The five bishops were the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Avranches, Bayeaux, Coutances, and Sees. Translation Fiess et al, *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, II,* p. 34.
[176] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' pp. 53-55.
[177] Grant, 'Savigny and its Saints', p. 113.
[178] Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?' p. 58, notes that there are almost 400 entries in the printed text.

pilgrims ensured that Edmund's cult would not be as quiet as Bernard's at Clairvaux. King Louis IX of France attended Edmund's translation in 1247, along with Queen Mother, Blanche of Castile, and Louis' sister Isabelle, and three brothers, who were preparing to depart for the Holy Land. Richard, the earl of Cornwall, travelled to Pontigny in 1247 and donated money for the shrine. He was followed by Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford in c.1248-9, Bishop Richard of Chichester in 1249, and finally by King Henry III in 1254.[179] Despite this publicity, the community did try to limit the disruption. Lower-status lay pilgrims were largely dealt with by *conversi*, secular priests, or maybe lay employees, rather than the choir monks. Female pilgrims hoping to see the relics were forced to wait at the abbey gates on Saturdays, when only small groups were permitted to see them at a time.[180]

The modifications made to the hagiography of the saints of Savigny can be compared to those made to texts from another reform group incorporated by the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century. The *vita* of the community at Obazine's founder, Stephen, explicitly discusses the process and its impact on daily life. There is a record of the changes made to reading habits and diet in the infirmary, as well as the moderation of aesthetic practices. The description of Stephen's funeral and the appearance of his tomb, however, highlight how difficult changing traditions of lay pilgrimage could be.

Stephen of Obazine was born at the end of the eleventh century in Limousin, to a noble family. After the death of his father he lived as a local seigneur and knight, before converting as an adult to live as priest and itinerant preacher.[181] Stephen's *vita* is contained in three books

[179] W. C., Jordan, 'The English Holy Men of Pontigny', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 43, 1, (2008) pp. 63-76, p. 71.
[180] Ibid., p. 69.
[181] Parallels can be drawn with the life and conversion of Pons of Leras, a reformed knight, who, following a pilgrimage founded the monastery of Silvanes in Southern France. Pons became a lay brother in the monastery he had founded despite his social status, as a mark of humility. Pons' life was written shortly after his death by Hugh of Francigena, in an account entitled, *The Tract on the Conversion of Pons of Leras and the True Account of the*

written between 1166 and 1180, after incorporation. The author was an anonymous monk who seems to have been a member of the order.[182] The text relates Stephen's self-examination and consultation; he asked Stephen of Mercouer, abbot of La Chaise-Dieu (1111-1146) for guidance on eremitical life.[183] After distributing his goods to the poor, he left the area with his companion Peter. After living for a while with a certain Bertrand, probably Bertrand de Griffville, they left in search of a stricter life.[184] Stephen obtained permission from Bishop Eustorage of Limoges (1106-37) to build a small monastery, which soon gained recruits. At first the group followed Stephen's directions for eremitical life and canonical rule in the liturgy.[185] At some point between 1132 and 1135 he asked Guigo I of La Chartreuse for advice on a rule for the community. As had happened in similar situations with Pons of Leras and Gilbert of Sempringham, Guigo recommended that Stephen consider approaching the Cistercians.[186]

When Stephen returned to his followers they expanded their buildings, built a new church dedicated to the Virgin 'according to Carthusian custom', and one dedicated to St Peter, for guests and visitors.[187] They started to accept women, but not on the same scale as Sempringham or Fontevrault. These decisions suggest that joining the Cistercian Order was not inevitable nor decided as soon as Guigo suggested it; there is a considerable time lapse between the visit to La Chartreuse of 1132-5 and the incorporation into the Order of 1147. That accounts for such visits exist attests to the networks between hermits and communities in the period.

Beginning of the Monastery of Silvanes. This account was written during the early years of Pon I's abbacy (1161-71), while the monastery buildings were being renovated. B. M. Kienzle, 'The Tract on the Conversion of Pons of Leras and the True Account of the Beginning of the Monastery of Silvanes', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 30, 3 (1995), pp. 219-44.

[182] Gereby and Nagy, 'The Life of the Hermit Stephen of Obazine', p. 302.

[183] *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine* (ed and trans.) M. Aubrun (Clermont-Ferrand, 1970), 1: 24-26.

[184] Golding, 'Hermits, Monks, and Women in Twelfth-Century France and England', p. 128. *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine,* I.2-14.

[185] Golding, 'Hermits, Monks, and Women in Twelfth-Century France and England', p. 129.

[186] Ibid., p. 130. Gereby and Nagy, 'The Life of the Hermit Stephen of Obazine', p. 305. Pons travelled to La Chartreuse to ask the prior to accept the group into the order in the 1130s. Reluctant to accept responsibility for so large and distant a community, the prior recommended the Cistercians. Silvanes was incorporated as the daughter of Mazan in 1136. Kienzle, 'The Tract on the Conversion of Pons of Leras', p. 221.

[187] *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine.* 1:26, pp. 80-82.

The text demonstrates that the changes made following incorporation in 1147 were remembered, and that customs opposed to the new order would be abolished *gradually*.[188] Liturgical books were brought in line, by the efforts of 'outstanding teachers whom the Cistercian father had granted to him as a special gift for instructing his order'.[189] The text describes Stephen's acts of asceticism before and after incorporation. For instance, he forbade the eating of meat even for the sick, insisted upon longer beatings in the chapter of faults, and in the winter he would break the ice of a river and submerge himself up to his neck.[190] During their time as hermits, he and his companion would beat each other with handfuls of sticks when they began to feel tired.[191] This level of asceticism can be compared with life at Obazine following incorporation. Apparently despite his personal principles, Stephen allowed the introduction of meat into the diet of those in the infirmary, prioritising the obedience and cenobitic life of the Cistercians over his previous austerity. This change was not remembered fondly. The author relates that:

> Among other changes, even the use of meat was allowed to the infirm according to the rule. Until then, this had remained unknown to our brothers. The holy man bore this change with *great chagrin*.[192]

The third book contains an account of the saint's final illness and death, and his posthumous miracles.[193] The miracles relating to the communities of Obazine and Croyoux reinforce the message of Stephen's career; he appears in visions to the monks and nuns to offer reassurance,

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[188] *The Life of St Stephen of Obazine,* trans. H. Feiss, M. M. O'Brien, and R. Pepin, (ed.) *The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 2; Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, Abbot Godfrey of Savigny, Peter of Avranches, and Blessed Hamo* (Collegeville, MN, 2014), Book 2, Chapter 11, p. 174. My emphasis.
[189] *Stephen of Obazine* 2.13 p. 175.
[190] T. Merton, *In the Valley of Wormwood: Cistercian Blessed and Saints of the Golden Age*, (Collegeville, MI, 2013) p. 94.
[191] Gereby and Nagy, 'The Life of the Hermit Stephen of Obazine', p. 300.
[192] *Stephen of Obazine* 2.15 pp. 175-6. My emphasis.
[193] Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour,* p. 8.

or reassert the discipline and devotional behaviour he prescribed as abbot.[194] These appearances mirror the accounts of St Gilbert and St Bernard, when the saints appeared to members of their community to admonish or encourage their brethren, suggesting this was an important aspect of the memory of the monastic founder. Accounts of Stephen's funeral, however, diverge from Cistercian norms. Posthumous miracles for lay people were common at his tomb, and Obazine became an important pilgrimage centre.[195] The *vita* states that Stephen was said to have 'shown his care and solicitude for peace not only at home but also of the entire province', and that he was mourned as 'the protector and provider of the whole province'.[196] This wider concept of community was evident in Stephen's acceptance of members of all social classes, men and women.[197] The process of incorporation into the Cistercian Order then included both the monastic community and its social network, who expected to continue to be included following the merger.

[194] Ibid., p. 66 *Vie de Saint Etienne d'Obazine*, 3:34, 3 :11-12, 14-19.
[195] Merton, *In the Valley of Wormwood,* p. 100.
[196] *Vita Stephani* 2.39, 3.4.
[197] Ibid., 1, 29.

Figure 2 Stephen of Obazine's tomb.

This wider concept of community is also demonstrated by the position and decoration of Stephen's tomb, shown in Figure 2. First buried in the chapter house, Stephen's remains were moved to the north transept in the thirteenth century. The tomb has been dated to c.1260-70, and was probably made in the Île-de-France under the patronage of Louis IX. It is stylistically similar to the Capetian princely tombs from c.1235-6, then displayed at Royamount.[198] The tomb depicts St Stephen in the company of the four abbots of Obazine's daughter houses, kneeling in front of the enthroned Virgin and Child. The tomb includes other groups in the community; the choir monks, lay brothers, and nuns from Croyoux. The tomb thus commemorates the founder-saint, and includes the other groups in the community and the daughter houses.

[198] Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture*, p. 125.

Overall, the changes described in the hagiography of Savigny and Obazine following incorporation into the Order suggest that adaptations were expected. Peter of Furness' appeal to Pope Eugenius supports the idea that incorporation could lead to large changes in observance. The practice of sending monks from established Cistercian houses to educate the new recruits, and the difficulties inherent in this process, were recorded in the *vitae* of Aelred of Rievaulx and Stephen of Obazine. It was expected that houses joining the order would attempt to conform to a Cistercian ethic. In the *vita* of Stephen, these changes are perhaps clearest in regards to his ascetic practices. The visions in which he appears to members of his community to dispense discipline highlight the obedience required by founder saints, and are echoed in the *vitae* of St Gilbert and St Bernard. The descriptions of preaching in the *vitae* of Vitalis and Godfrey demonstrate changing attitudes to contact with the world beyond the cloister. The *vita* of Hamo emphasises his gift in bringing people to confession.

While the hagiographic texts suggest changes to saints' cults that would begin to mirror the restricted access evident in Cistercian works described above, the continued presence of lay pilgrims at Savigny and Obazine indicates that the *vita* and *miracula* are not representative of the entire cult. The continued access granted to lay pilgrims suggests that the changes made in the hagiography, emphasising conversion and contemplation over preaching, were not always carried into cult management.

Conclusion

In a sermon written for the occasion of a church dedication, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote that churches were sacred:

> because of the bodies that house the holy, the bodies in turn because of the souls and the souls because of the Spirit which dwells in them. No one ought to doubt this, since a visible sign of His invisible grace is given to our benefit.[199]

This chapter has argued that Cistercian hagiography in the twelfth century was different to that of the Benedictines and other reform orders. As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, the intended audience for the cults of St Bernard and St Malachy were important. Cistercian hagiography demonstrated a divide in how the saint was presented within and without the Order. This is evident in the description of posthumous miracles and visions. The types of miracles and their recipients vary between the texts produced by different orders; Cistercian texts tend to focus on miracles performed for members of the order. There are more visions in these texts, where Cistercian saints appear to reassure or correct the community. This can be contrasted with the visions for lay supplicants in Benedictine or Gilbertine texts, which usually encouraged the sufferer to visit the saint at their tomb. These differences can be attributed to the role each order played in society. Oriented towards the local community, especially the lower classes, the miracles of Erkenwald, Frideswide, Ithamar, and Modwenna, largely solved social problems, curing people unable to work or earn. The recipients of Gilbert of Sempringham's miracles were similarly local. In contrast the Cistercian Order negotiated its inward- and outward-looking tendencies by focusing on the monastic community and relationships with higher status patrons.

[199] Bernard of Clairvaux*, In Dedicatione ecclesiae,* 4.4. Translation from Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture*, p. 60.

Cistercian authors displayed their interest in the presentation of virtues over posthumous tomb miracles in works they were commissioned to write. The hagiography composed by Aelred of Rievaulx presented the order's interest in ecclesiastical reform by providing the reader with exemplary kings and bishops. This writing can be read as part of larger narratives displaying Cistercian interest in church reform, depicting exemplary bishops and kings whose behaviour was worthy of imitation. Consistent with the texts composed for Cistercian audiences, posthumous miracles in these works are less prominent than virtues that may allow them to occur, and the shrine of the saint is less central. The regular expression of these ideas to different audiences suggests a strong attachment to them, and an awareness of how distinctive these views were, reinforcing the argument in this thesis that attitudes to sacred objects formed an important aspect of Cistercian identity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The hagiography connected to cults incorporated into the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century demonstrates some adaptations; in ascetic practices, preaching outside of the monastery, and the emphasis on contemplation. Accounts of relic translations, however, suggest that changes may only have been superficial. These incorporated cults borrowed some topi of Cistercian hagiography, such as the value placed on visions, but struggled to decentre the tomb. Lay access seems to have been granted to a larger degree than in Cistercian contexts, though in the case of Savigny this was at least restricted to the local community. It is probable that these local pilgrims represented the continued tradition of public preaching established by Vitalis.

In the texts discussed in this chapter, it has been demonstrated that the hagiography produced by the Cistercians in this period reinforced the Order's self-identity. Hagiographical texts provide useful evidence for Cistercian concerns related to sacred matter, and the emphasis on the portrayal of lay pilgrims as a disruptive influence suggests this formed an important

aspect of the Order's symbolic boundary marking, especially in relation to other monastic groups.

Chapter Four

Imparting values: Teaching novices through exempla collections, c.1170 to c.1220

Exempla collections were didactic texts intended for edification.[1] Early forms are seen in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, before development by the new monastic orders from the ninth to twelfth centuries. By the time exempla were used by the later mendicant orders the stories were seen as a separate genre and were regularly mined for use in sermons, often selected for particular themes.[2] Recent scholarship has further problematised previously-accepted definitions, with Mula's suggested working definition of Cistercian exemplum comprising of 'a short narrative with one or more 'historical' events (or presented as such), which were meant to elicit spiritual reflection and create sense of belonging to spiritual community'.[3] Most of the Cistercian collections were created in the second half of the twelfth century at Clairvaux or its daughter houses, the impetus for their creation perhaps coming from Geoffrey of Auxerre and his interest in the miracles and visions related to Bernard of Clairvaux.[4] These sources are articulate and self-aware, conscious of audiences within and without the order.

Exempla can provide evidence of ideological concerns: how the Order taught novices to think about relics and saints' cults, and how the Order attempted to respond to external criticism. The restricted access to saints' cults evident in Cistercian hagiography as discussed in Chapter Three has parallels in the exempla collections, which, whether directed to internal or external audiences, emphasised the exclusivity of membership of the Order. This

[1] J. Le Goff, 'L'exemplum' in C. Bremond, J. Le Goff, J-C, Schmitt, '*L'exemplum, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 37-8.
[2] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991) p. 111.
[3] S. Mula, 'Towards a Definition of the Cistercian Exemplum', *Leeds International Medieval Congress*, University of Leeds, July 2019.
[4] See Chapter 2 section 2 for Geoffrey's involvement in the promotion of the cult of St Bernard.

complimented the socialisation of devotional belief and the cultivation of a distinctive group identity, especially in relation to other monastic orders. This exclusivity is evident in visions of heaven and purgatory, and the restricted efficacy of relics for the Cistercian community. These encouraged the monks to maintain their vocation and acted as a promise of eventual rewards, and created a sense of collective identity. This development was gradual, rather than fully formed at the order's inception in 1098. Exempla are therefore a useful source in the debate surrounding the early uniformity of the order. Focussing on three major collections, the *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Claravellensium (LVMC)*, *Exordium Magnum (EM)*, and *Dialogus Miraculorum (DM)*, will highlight the changing place of relics over time, between c.1178 and c.1223. These three collections cover the period in which most Cistercian exempla were written, the creation and absorption of new houses, and the order's adjustment to the death of St Bernard, and the loss of Eugenius III and Henry Murdac; the first Cistercian pope and bishop in England respectively.

This chapter will ask what these collections demonstrate about Cistercian attitudes to sacred objects in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries; the lessons senior monks sought to teach novices, the Order's perception of its differences to other monastic communities, and the centrality of Clairvaux and Cîteaux in these texts. While not all monks were authors, works were monitored by the General Chapter, suggesting popular works like these collections do reflect the attitude of the Order.[5] The Order reproduced itself through the foundation of new abbeys, the education of novices, and the reproduction of social structures.

It will be argued that relics were important in the Cistercian cult of saints in the twelfth century, though the prominence of relics varied across the collections and over time. This

[5] Inst. LX *Si licet alicui novos libros dictare,* Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 535. Waddell argues that the Instituta are the result of revision of earlier texts, and were transmitted with the Cistercian customary. The process of revision means the date could range from 1147 to 1180/4. Pp. 517-19.

included eucharistic miracles. As was noted in the Introduction holy matter is a broad category, encompassing relics, contact and effluvial relics, sacramentals, the eucharist and other sacraments, and devotional images. As Snoek has demonstrated, the veneration of the host was closely associated with that focused on the relics of saints; placed on altars, kept in reliquaries or monstrances, carried in procession, and used for blessings.[6] Comparisons in attitudes to the eucharist and relics can be made in three categories;

1. 'Transposition of forms of reverence', such as visiting the host, use in processions, exposition, or blessings, which arose from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries;
2. 'Similarity in miraculous power' such as immunity against decay and fire, the ability to give signals of light, bleeding, and healing power, come common from the eleventh and twelfth centuries;
3. 'Parallel application in concrete use', such as when the host was used as an *apotropeon* at home or on a journey, for the swearing of oaths, or when used in defence against demons. Snoek demonstrates that this was evident from late antiquity until the thirteenth century. In this category the host was distinct from relics when emphasis was placed on its consumption.[7]

The development in attitudes to the eucharist was due to its being increasingly viewed as an 'object' rather than an 'action'.[8] Snoek states that 'sacramental piety exclusively concentrated on the consecrated Host caused a growth in the gap between relics and the Host' however, 'deprived of its liturgical context, [the Host] was perceived 'as a relic', with a corresponding power to bring about miracles'.[9] Attention shifted from the '*activities surrounding* the bread and wine within the Lord's supper […] to *reverence for* the bread and wine themselves'.[10]

The *LVMC* emphasised eucharistic miracles such as the discovery of incorrupt hosts, or visions of the Christ-child on the altar. The appearance of the Christ-child served to reward the

[6] G. J. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995).
[7] Ibid., p. 3.
[8] Ibid., p. 4.
[9] Ibid., p. 5.
[10] Ibid., p. 382, Snoek's emphasis.

faith of the visionary, conversely the transformation of the host into flesh was intended to remove doubt in the sacrament. The *EM* introduced more stories related to the veneration of the founders and early monks of the order; responding to criticism of the practices of the order, the collection placed its miracles within a larger context of monastic history, justifying its customs as a return to the Rule. The *DM* included miracles related to these themes, but its author included stories from a wider background. There are thus chapters that are related to lay people and the regular clergy in addition to members of the Cistercian order.

1. Relics in the Liber Visionum et Miraculum Clarevallensium

The *Chronicon Clarevallense* entry for 1178 states that, Herbert monk of Clairvaux, future abbot of Mores, wrote the famous book of Clarevellian miracles.[11] Internal evidence in the *LVMC* demonstrates that its composition began earlier; it is likely chapters 160 and 164 were written before 1170, based on the titles given to Pons, abbot of Grandselve, later abbot of Clairvaux, and from 1170 bishop of Clermont.[12] This dating matters because it places the composition of the *LVMC* at the start of the upsurge in Cistercian exempla creation,[13] and the context of Bernard of Clairvaux's canonisation in 1174.[14] In addition to the *LVMC,* historians are aware of two other collections from this period; one compiled by John and another by Goswin, prior and monk of Clairvaux respectively.[15]

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[11] '*Et hoc anno domnus Herbertus monachus Clarevallis qui fureat abbas de Moris Librum miraculorum apud Claramuallem conscripsit.'* G. Fois, S. Mula, C. Zichi (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, (Turnhout, 2017) p. lv. Hereafter *LVMC.* Monk at Clairvaux (1153–68/9), abbot of Mores in Champagne until 1178; later archbishop of Torres, Sardinia (1181) Died c.1196.

[12] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. lxvii-lxix.

[13] S. Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution', *History Compass*, 8 (2010) pp. 903–912.

[14] B. P. McGuire, 'A lost Clairvaux Exemplum Found: The *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum* Compiled under Prior John of Clairvaux (1171-1179)', *Analecta Cisterciensia,* 39 (1983) pp. 26-62, p. 26.

[15] Ibid., pp. 26-30. See also Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections', p. 905.

Herbert's abbacy at Mores can be placed between 1168 and 1178.[16] While serving as chaplain to the cardinal-bishop of Albano, Henry of Macy, Herbert participated in the 1181 visitation of Val-Roy, in the province of Reims. He made use of the library, and brought manuscripts containing stories of St Bernard back to Clairvaux.[17] In 1180 or 1181, Herbert was appointed archbishop of Torres, a position he held until his death shortly before 14 August 1196, when a new archbishop was elected.[18] Herbert's involvement in visitation highlights the prestige in which he was held and his ability to travel. The decision to include stories found in the library at Val-Roy demonstrates Herbert's continued interest in narrative collection and suggests that the *LVMC* could have been collated over a prolonged period of time. The incorporation of stories discovered during visitation also means that the collection remained focused on Clairvaux and its filiation.[19]

Herbert's work was part of a collective effort, aimed at recording and preserving the narratives of exemplary events for the benefit of the order's monks. The text is based mostly on oral testimony; the *LVMC* was preceded by the *Collectaneum exemplorum* composed by Prior John but does not seem to have used this source directly.[20] In 67 chapters Herbert indicates he collected the story from a living witness, while another 80 stories implicitly suggest an oral source. Herbert occasionally refers to written sources, drawing a large amount of material from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*.[21] The presence of material from the *Gesta*

[16] Herbert states that while at Clairvaux, his novice master was Acardo, and that he had served abbot Fastrado (1157-61) at table. (*LVMC*, Chapter 5, pp. 21-3, Chapter 46, pp. 105-110). Fois et al note that there is no documentary evidence for his time at Mores, but that his predecessors and successor as abbot are mentioned, p. lviii.
[17] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. lxii.
[18] Ibid., pp. lxiv-lxv.
[19] For a discussion on the process of visitation, see E. Jamroziak, 'Centres and Peripheries', in M. B. Bruun (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013) pp. 65-80, esp. pp.69-73.
[20] See *Collectaneum Exemplorum et Visionum Clarevallense*, (ed.) Olivier Legendre, CCCM 208 (Turnhout, 2005) and McGuire, 'A lost Clairvaux Exemplum Found', pp. 26-62.
[21] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. lxxiv, cix. *LVMC* chapters 45, 65, 66, 110-118, 152, 157-160 are borrowed from the *Gesta Regum*, mostly Book 2.

in the *LVMC* demonstrates Cistercian interest in texts that originated outside the cloister. Herbert also includes a quotation from the *Historia Karoli Magni*,[22] and a sermon by Aelred of Rievaulx.[23] Aside from these extended quotations and biblical references, there are few quotations from written sources.

The *LVMC* was intended for an internal audience. This is evident in the focus on Cistercian recipients in the stories, and the prominence of St Bernard. Many of the visions recounted in the *LVMC* are of Bernard.[24] In these stories, Bernard appears as the concerned abbot, ready to provide pastoral care. He is often presented as returning to advise monks and novices on their conduct. This depiction complements that found in the *VP*, where his political activities in the wider Church received greater emphasis.[25] Mula suggested the impetus for the creation of exemplum literature may have come from Geoffrey of Auxerre and his recording of stories related to Bernard.[26] When compared to the contents of the *VP*, it becomes clear that the miracles and visions ascribed to Bernard in the *LVMC* are addressed to his monks, rather than the wider world.[27]

This chapter will not attempt to reconstruct the transmission of the *LVMC*, but a brief exploration of the popularity and iterations of the collection is necessary to underscore the variability of the text. The extant manuscripts display a large degree of difference,

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[22] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 126, pp. 235-6. The chapter begins '*In gestis Karoli Magni, Francorum regis et imperatoris Romanorum, qui terram Hispaniarum fugatis adversariis crucis christiano imperio subivgavit, legitur quoddam non minus utile quam terribile miraculum et exemplum de his qui mortuorum elemosinas iniuste retinere presumunt'* For a recent edition of the *Historia*, see K. R. Poole, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (New York, NY, 2014).

[23] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 33, pp. 64-6. This chapter is borrowed from the *Homilies on the Prophetic Burdens of Isaiah.*

[24] Casey counts visions involving demons (20), St Bernard (19), Christ (18), Angels (11), the Virgin Mary (9), St John the Evangelist (4), St Mary Magdalen (3), St Malachy (2), St Augustine (2), the Trinity (1), the Apostles (1), St Elizabeth (1), St Paul (1), and St Benedict (1). M. Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 25, 1990, pp. 37-64, p. 53.

[25] For further discussion of Bernard of Clairvaux in the *LVMC,* see Chapter 2.

[26] Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections', p. 905.

[27] See Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', pp. 37-64 for the role of Bernard in this collection.

demonstrating the influence of individual copyists.[28] The variation also highlights that the *LVMC* was not as polished or organised a collection as the *EM* or *DM*. This was due to the different aims and audiences of the authors. For instance, Conrad of Eberbach was aware of the potential for his collection to address and counter external criticisms of the order.

The 2017 edition of the *LVMC* established that there were two families of manuscripts (Bavarian-Austrian and Prussian) and a later edited version (the French tradition used by Chifflet for his 1660 edition).[29] The critical edition notes 26 extant manuscripts grouped into three branches of transmission; Bavarian-Austrian (12), Prussian (12), and French (2).[30] The provenance of four of the manuscripts is unknown, nine appear to be from Austria, seven from

[28] *LVMC* has been used by the recent critical edition, and highlights the main elements of the texts' contents (Herbert of Clairvaux, *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium* (*CCCM*) (eds.) G. Fois, S. Mula, C. Zichi (Turnhout, 2017)). Some manuscripts have no title; others note the chapter titles and introduce the visions separately, with headings such as '*Incipt liber visionum Clarevallensium'* (Ibid., p. liv-lv). There is no prologue or introduction, instead the collection starts with a story that takes place in Clairvaux during harvest time. It is this story that Caesarius of Heisterbach refers to as a famous vision (*visionem illam*), and credits with his conversion to the order. (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, (ed.) J. Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851-7, Rpt Ridgewood, NJ, 1966) Volume 1, p. 17. The *Dialogus Miraculorum* will be discussed below.)

[29] The *LVMC* was edited and published by the Jesuit Pierre-François Chifflet in the seventeenth century (P. F. Chifflet, *Sancti B ernardi Clarevallensis abbatis genus illustre assertum. Accedunt Odonis de Dioglio, Johannjus Eremitae, Herberti Turrium Sardiniae Archiepiscopi, aliorumque aliquot scriptorum opuscola, duodecimi post Christum seculi historiuam spectantia: quorum seriem proxima post epistolam nuncupatoriam pagina dabi*t (Divione, *Typis Philiberti Chavance Typographi Regii*, 1660). It is this version that formed the basis of Migne's entry in *Patrologia Latina* (PL 185 cols. 1273-1384). Bruno Griesser's work on the *Exordium Magnum* has demonstrated (through the collation of the *R* and *H* manuscripts) that the *LVMC* had more chapters than in the Chifflet and PL editions (Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. vix, citing B. Griesser, 'Probleme der Textuberlieferung des *Exordium Magnum'*, *Cistercienser Chronik*, 52 (1940) pp. 161-8, 117-87, at p. 164). Chifflet used a now lost manuscript from the French branch of transmission that was in the Clairvaux library in the seventeenth century. This version divides the text into books, and has 50 fewer chapters than the manuscripts from the Bavarian-Austrian and Prussian traditions. Chifflet assumed that this manuscript was a more authoritative text because it came from the monastery in which Herbert lived and worked. In fact this is a later version of the *LVMC*, useful for considering the fortunes of the text, but not its reconstruction. It appears that this later version did not achieve a wide geographical distribution (The text published by Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu under the title *Collectio exemplorum Cisterciensis in codice Parisiensi 15912 asseruata*. (*CCCM*, 243) (Turnhout, 2012) appears to be a manuscript representing an intermediate version between the first and second editors of the *LVMC*. This text contains chapters from the German tradition, but also the homily added to chapter 44 distinctive to the French redaction. See Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. lxxxvii).

[30] For a discussion of the extant manuscripts, see Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, pp. xii-liv.

Germany, four from France, and two from the Czech Republic.[31] Copies of the *LVMC* were made from the twelfth to seventeenth century, with peaks in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Across these branches, eleven can be dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[32] The manuscripts demonstrate the longevity of Herbert's text. The *LVMC* was used extensively by Conrad of Eberbach at the end of the twelfth century, but there are no direct references to the text in the *DM* of the thirteenth century.

The differences between the manuscripts illuminate the transmission of the work and provide evidence for individual copyists and editors experimentation with the order of the material. The *EM* includes most of Herbert's exempla that were only present in the extended version.[33] The loss of some exempla from other collections led Fois, Mula, and Zichi to suggest the *LVMC* did not exist in a defined copy, but consisted of a collection of notebooks to be distributed and copied.[34] Herbert refers to his work with the words '*opusculum*' and '*codicellum*', suggesting he perceived his own work to be a minor collection, perhaps collated on a series of notepads.[35]

The corpus of exempla dubbed '*Pseudo-Herbertianum'* by the editors of the critical edition is evidence of the vitality of the *LVMC* in the late twelfth century.[36] This corpus contains fifteen

[31] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, pp. xxi-liv. Rather than reconstruct a hypothetical original, the editors of the 2017 edition chose to treat the work as a living text to which chapters were added or removed, and have thus included the variants to make this tradition visible (Ibid., p. lxxvii. For details on the MS used in the critical edition, see pp. lxxix-lxxxvi). The critical edition has numbered the chapters in line with the chapters given in manuscript *M1,* the only manuscript which signals where Herbert intended to finish the text (M1, Munchen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2607). Chapter 165 in this manuscript ends with the doxology, 'by means of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belongs the honour, and the glory of the Lord, with God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit in all things, world without end.' '*Per Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum cui est honor et Gloria cum Deo patre, in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia secula seculorum'*, (Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 165, p. 297). *M1* dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and has been traced to the scriptorium of the Cistercian monastery of Aldersbach in Germany (Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. xii).
[32] These are: M1, M2, R, H, K, Lo, P1, P3, P4, P5, He.
[33] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. lxxvii.
[34] Ibid., p. lxxviii.
[35] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 110, pp. 209-210, Chapter 152, pp. 272-275.
[36] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, pp. 299-318.

extra exempla. The first is the Bernardine exemplum (see Chapter 44 in the *LVMC*),[37] amended to include additional homilies absent in both the core text of the *LVMC* and Chifflet's edition.[38] Variations from this alternative *LVMC* are present in two manuscripts of the French branch.[39] A late-thirteenth to early-fourteenth century manuscript (*Re*), presents the chapters in a different order, and includes additional miracles of the Virgin and moral sayings. Exempla from the *Pseudo-Herbertianum* corpus are also included in the *Chronicon Clarevallense*. The first miracle relayed by Alberic of Trois Fontaines is prefaced with the comment 'about which we read in the book of miracles of lord Herbert'.[40] This miracle is also included in the *EM* in 2.19, though Greisser comments it appears to have been a later insertion.[41]

The appearance of these additional exempla circulating under Herbert's name indicate the regard in which his text was held, and the continuing edits that were undertaken on the text. Again, these later additions demonstrate the degree of variability in the *LVMC,* as opposed to the *EM* and *DM*. The manuscript transmission of this collection helps us to understand how the text travelled and was used, variations perhaps introduced by different novice masters requirements and edits made by authors like Conrad. The popularity and reuse of the work suggests it was well received, and that Herbert's stories would have been known to a large number of Cistercian novices in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Understanding the audience Herbert anticipated, and the varying versions of the *LVMC* that circulated in this period, is important when considering the content of this collection. Most of

[37] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 44, pp. 87-101.
[38] Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. xcvi.
[39] These manuscripts are *P3* (Paris, BnF, lat. 14655), and *Re* (Riems, Bibliotheque municipal, ms. 1400). See Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. xlii, pp. l-li.
[40] '*Anno Domini MCXLVII. Beatus Bernardus abbas Clarevallis in Alemannia crucem predicavit, virtutes multas et magnus fecit, inter quas et mortuum illum resuscitavit, de quo habetur in libro miraculorum domni Herbertani'* Fois et al (eds.) *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum Clarevallensium*, p. xcvi. This miracle is Chapter 2 in the *LVMC* edition.
[41] Conrad of Eberbach*, Exordium magnum cisterciense sive narration de initio cisterciensis ordinis auctore Conrado,* (ed.) B. Griesser (Rome, 1961; rpt. Turnhout) pp. 113-4.

the stories included in the collection relate to monks, though there are a minority concerning lay brothers and nuns. The collection highlights the monks' willingness to provide critique of other orders and abbots, noting the management of estate resources and pastoral care. Abbots considering resigning their office were irresponsible and were sent visions to encourage them to maintain their duties.[42] Bernard was held up as an example of good practice, visiting the infirmary after Compline to check on sick brothers, for example.[43] These stories taught novices about abbatial responsibilities, and gave examples of good and bad practice.

In relation to the order's relationship with the Virgin and the perception of a special Cistercian place in heaven, the sense of a collective identity based on exclusive membership is evident. This is a good example of the ways in which the Order worked to instil a group identity based upon their differences to their contemporaries. This could in turn justify different devotional practices such as the restriction of access to relics to the members of this select group. In contrast to the limited discussion in the Rule and Benedictine treatises on cloistered life from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the interest in community 'characterises Cistercian writings of the twelfth century', through the exploration of the possibilities of communal life, and interest in inter-personal relationships.[44]

The opportunity for monks to imitate good practice and use the example of one's neighbour to grow in virtue is evident in Bernard's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiæ* (*On the Steps of Humility and Pride)*, and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Speculum caritatis* (*The Mirror of Charity*), and *De Spirituali Amicitia* (*Spiritual Friendship*).[45] The exclusive aspect of this community is

[42] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 87.
[43] Ibid., Chapter 13.
[44] C. Bynum, 'The Cistercian Conception of Community' in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), pp. 59-81, pp. 61-2.
[45] Ibid., pp. 64-5. See for example Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Steps of Humility*, (trans.) G. B. Burch (Cambridge, MA, 1950) pp. 133-5.

evident in Cistercian conceptions of purgatory and intercession, articulated in other visionary texts written around the same time as the *LVMC*. The influx of new orders in the twelfth century led to concern with how groups were formed and differentiated, and how behaviour conformed to models.[46] Belonging to these groups led to a self-conscious interest in defining and evaluating roles, and a new institutional awareness. Caroline Bynum has noted the religious revival of the twelfth century was characterised by 'a burgeoning throughout Europe of new forms of communities, with new rules and custumals providing self-definitions and articulating new values.'[47] The awareness of the differences between these new orders is evident in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus*, as was noted in the Introduction.[48]

The Virgin, for example, appears to monks, novices, abbot Fastrado, and archbishop Eskil. She is sometimes alone, or could appear with Christ, the apostles Peter and John, or St Bernard.[49] The first section of Chapter 78, a vision of a 'glorious procession' in the choir of Clairvaux, is a good example of a vision of the Virgin and saints in this collection.[50] One night while in the church, Geoffrey, then a monk of Clairvaux and later bishop of Sorra in Sardinia, saw a procession of souls from the graveyard, through the church, to the infirmary, where a brother, Tecelin, was dying. Acolytes carrying candles that seemed to be more fire than wax appeared first, followed by sub-deacons and deacons, each participant carrying the appropriate liturgical vessels. These apparitions were followed by the saints, and finally the Virgin accompanied by the apostles Peter and John. The light from Mary filled the church.[51] The vision

[46] C. Bynum, 'Did the 12th century discover the individual?' in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), pp. 82-109, p. 85.
[47] Bynum, 'Did the 12th century discover the individual?' p. 85.
[48] *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia* (ed.) G. Constable (Oxford, 1972).
[49] See *LVMC* Chapters 1, 40, 42, 44e, 46, 48, 58, 62, 69, 71, 78, 79, 82, 106, 108, 132, 133, 134, 135, 154.
[50] Chapter 78 *De eo qui vidit in choro Clarevallis gloriosam processionem*, pp. 154-9.
[51] *[…] Erat ergo processio sanctorum splendida atque gloriosa, que a septemtrionali parte basilice quasi de cymiterio veniens et coram presbyterio transiens recto itinere ad infirmitorium tendebat. Porro in ipsa processione acoliti, subdiaconi, diaconi atque presbyteri apparebant, qui per singulos ordines septeni atque septeni dispositi alii ante alios congruo ordine incedebant. Acoliti vero stolis albis amicti singulos cereos manibus preferebant, qui tamen ignei magis quam cerei esse parebant. […] Ad ultimum vero gloriosa Dei genitrix Virgo Maria*

emphasises the spiritual power of Clairvaux, and the sense of community that existed between the living and the dead. The relationship and its connection to Cistercian ideas about their place relative to other orders would find even clearer expression in the later *DM*, in the vision of deceased monks sheltering under the Virgin's mantle.[52]

The *LVMC* contains miracles related to the physical remains of saints, but the majority relate to the eucharist. Rubin suggests a typology of three broad categories for eucharistic exempla stories;

1. A vision of the real substances, or other unusual sensations, such as smell, taste or sound, as a reward for faith and piety or such revelations used to counter trivial doubt;
2. Some unusual behaviour of natural elements, animals or humans, arising from awe of the eucharist or from sheer proximity to it;

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subsequebatur, quam beati apostoli Petrus et Iohannes dextra levaque comitabantur. Ipsa autem tanta venustate vultu et habitu fulgurans radiabat, ut ex eius claritate tota basilica coruscaret. Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, pp.154-9.

[52] This was based on the vision of one Cistercian monk who viewed 'fell into an ecstasy' and viewed 'the glories of heaven'. There he saw the angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors, all arranged according to whether they had been canons, Premonstratensians, Cluniacs etc. No Cistercians were represented, and the monk was troubled; he voiced his concern to the Virgin, and she replied that those of the Cistercian Order were so dear to her that she cherished them in her own bosom. Casesarius of Heisterbach tells us that **'**opening her cloak, with which she seemed to be clothed, and which was of marvellous amplitude, she showed him an innumerable multitude of monks, lay-brothers and nuns.' (Caesarius of Heisterbach, DM, 7.59).

'Monachus quidam ordinis nostril Dominam nostrum plurimum diligens, ante paucos annos mente excedens, ad contemplationem gloriae coelestis deductus est. Ubi dum diversos Ecclesiae triumphantis ordines videret, Angelorum videlicet, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, et eosdem certis caracteribus distinctos, id est in Canonicos Regulares, Premonstratenses, sive Cluniacenses, de suo ordine sollicitus, cum staret et circumspieceret, nec qliquam de illo personam in ila gloria reperiret, ad beatam Dei Genitricem cum gemitu. Recipiens, ait : 'Quis est santissima Domina, quod de ordine Cisterciensi neminem hic video ? Quare famuli tubi tibi tam devote servientes, a consorto tante beatitudinis excluduntur?'

Videns eam turbatum Regina coeli, respondit : 'Ita mihi dilecti ac familiares sunt hi qui de ordine Cisterciensi sunt, ut eos etiam sub ulnis meis foveam'. Aperiensque pallium suum quo amicta videbantur, qupd mirare erat latitudinis, innumerabilem multitudenem monachorum, conversorum, sanctimonialium illi ostendit. Qui nimis exultans et gratias referens, ad corpus rediit, et quid viderit, quidve audieriet Abbati suo narravit. Ille vero in sequenti Capitulo haec referens Abbatius, omnes laetificavit, ad ampliorem sanctae Dei Genitricis amorem illos accendens.

Igitur quia Virginem beatam, imo 'speculum virginitatis', cuius merita et gloria omnem sanctorum alitudienm transcendunt, laudere non sufficio, quasi imperitus orator illam laudando deficio : ipsam igitur tuis adiutus orationibus deprecpr, ut defetum meum ipsa suppleat, et quae scripta vel scribenda sunt, fructuosa faciat. Amen'. Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider (5 vols) (Turnhout, 2009), Vol 3, pp. 1500-1503.

3. The appearance of eucharistic properties, usually flesh, blood or the Man of Sorrows, to a knowing abuser- a Jew, a witch, a thief, a negligent priest- and the ensuing punishment.[53]

To an extent, the eucharistic miracles in the *LVMC* can support the analytical claims Rubin makes. Once consecrated the host becomes the body and blood of Christ, worthy of veneration and able to perform miracles.

Visions in which the consecrated host is transformed into a child on the altar,[54] or becomes flesh in the mouth of the recipient, fit within the first group.[55] In these stories the vision of flesh, blood, the child or crucified Christ functions as a 'reward for worthy reception of the sacrament', or to remove small doubts.[56] In an account from an unknown church in Chapter 88 a host becomes flesh and wine blood, to confirm the faith of the priest. The following week he asked his bishop to attend and witness the recurrence of the miracle. Herbert says the bishop then commanded such treasures to be kept in veneration.[57] The *LVMC* also contains stories that align with Rubin's third group. In chapters 90, 140, and 144, Herbert related miracles in which the host is used to unmask an unworthy priest or communicant.[58]

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[53] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 118.
[54] Chapter 3, *De eo qui frequenter videbat in altari Dominum Jhesum Christum in forma pueri* pp. 9-13. Chapter 19, *De fratre qui vidit Christum in altari in forma pueri* pp. 46-50. Chapter 20, *De femina que solebat videre Dominum Jhesum quasi puerum in os sacerdotis intarer et in suum* pp. 50-1. Chapter 21 *De quodam qui vidit puerum Jhesum osculantem sacerdotem ante percepitonem* pp. 51-2.
[55] Chapter 85b, *Miraculum recens de sacramento altaris* pp. 169-70. Chapter 86, *Aliud* p. 170.Chapter 87, *Aliud* p. 171. Chapter 93, *De eo qui corpus Domini abscondit in stabulo porcorum* pp. 175-6. Chapter 94 *De eo qui corpus Domini portavit in margine cape* pp. 176-7.
[56] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 119.
[57] *'[…] Quod cum ille vidisset, cunctisque videndum exhibuisset, immensas omnipotenti Deo gratias retulit, ipsumque sacramentum veluti thesaurum incomparabilem precepit in ecclesia digna cum veneracione custodiri'.* Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, pp.171-2.
[58] Chapter 88, *Aliud* pp. 171-2. Chapter 90, *De quodam moriente qui videns corpus Domini horribilter infremvit et expiravit* p. 173. Chapter 140, *De principe malo ad cuius obitum demones properabant* pp. 255-256. Chapter 144, *De eo qui detrahebat sacramento altaris quomodo interiit* pp 261-2. Chapter 163, *De eo qui solitus erat invisibiliter asportari* p. 288.

The *LVMC* suggests that another category should be added to these three for further nuance. The discovery of incorrupt hosts is presented as a distinct group.[59] While these discoveries worked to confirm the faith of witnesses, Herbert's presentation of these stories suggests they were viewed differently than visions of the child on the altar, for example. Chapters 78, 85a, and 95 all describe the discovery of incorrupt eucharists, in language similar to that used to describe the incorrupt physical remains of saints.[60] Chapter 78, for example, describes the discovery of relics during the reconstruction of a church in Sorra. While demolishing the altar, he found a box containing 'relics of the saints' ('*sanctorum reliquias continentem'*) and a preserved host ('*reliquias corpus Domini'*). Herbert states that the host was sound and whole, pure and bright, and free from corruption ('*ita sanum et integrum, ita mundum et candidum et ab omni corrupcione pentius alienum repertum est'*).[61] The discovery of the host is described as a miracle, which confirmed the faith of those present.[62] The incorrupt host is more important to the story than the vaguely-described relics, suggesting an emphasis on the sacraments in Cistercian devotional practice.

Incorruptibility had always been a sign of sanctity; Psalm 16.10 refers to the power of God in saving the faithful's bodies from corruption. The body was protected from decay in anticipation of the resurrection. Chapters 115 and 116 describe the many incorrupt saints found in England, and the bodies of SS Aelfeah and Ethelrude.[63] Chapter 115, 'Of the many bodies

[59] Chapter 78, *De eo qui vidit in choro Clarevallis gloriosm processionem* pp. 154-9. Chapter 85 a *Miraculum recens de sacramento altaris* pp. 168-9. Chapter 95 *Quod corpus Domini per triennium latverit in alveario* pp. 177-8.
[60] Chapter 78, *De eo qui vidit in choro Clarevallis gloriosm processionem* pp. 154-9. Chapter 85 a *Miraculum recens de sacramento altaris* pp. 168-9. Chapter 95 *Quod corpus Domini per triennium latverit in alveario* pp. 177-8.
[61] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, p. 159.
[62] Ibid., p. 159.
[63] Chapter 115, *De pluribus sanctis quorum corpora manent incorrupta*, pp. 217-8, Chapter 16, *De sancto rege Edmundo qui vidit in spiritu VII dormientes latera verentes*, pp. 218-220.

of the saints that remain incorrupt,' describes the bodies of these saints as '*incorruptio*'.[64] This state of preservation was seen as a source of hope in the resurrection.[65] The flesh-like appearance of St Cuthbert's skin and the ability to manipulate his joints contributed to his sleeping appearance.[66] Like St Cuthbert's body, the host discovered in Chapter 78 is 'whole' and 'incorrupt', and this state of preservation was the miracle. As Snoek notes, in incidents like this it is important to remember that 'the Eucharistic bread was Christ himself, whose body was protected from decay between death and resurrection'.[67]

Herbert also relates an incident of fire in a church in Tours, where the host survived unscathed, along with a silk cloth and wooden pyxis, which were then preserved as relics.[68] The unburnt host was described as 'the most sacred' ('*sacratissimum corporale quod'*).[69] The decision of the participants to preserve the eucharist as a relic after its miraculous survival does not have a counterpart in the typology suggested by Rubin, indicating the need to consider further categories when investigating the *LVMC.* The emphasis on the eucharist as a relic fits with the order's practical theology and rumination on the sacrament; the eucharist turned the love of God into lived experience. The consecrated host was the body of Christ, and as such was able to function as a relic, for example in the consecration of altars. Eucharistic visions

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[64] '*Considerandum nobis est quantus divine pietatis fulgor ab inicio fidei Christiane populum Anglorum circumfulserit quod nusquam gencium, ut opinor, reperies tot sanctorum illibata post mortem corpora incorrupcionis extreme symulacrum preferencia'*, Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, p. 217.

[65] '*Quod ideo fieri credo celitus ut nacio pene extra orbem posita ex consideracione incorrutele sanctorum fidencius as spem resurrectionis animetur'* Ibid., p. 217.

[66] '*Cuthbertus antiquus pater, omnes inviolate cutis et carnis, flexibus articulis, extremo vitality quodam tepore speciem dormitantium imitantes'* Ibid., p. 217.

[67] Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, p. 319.

[68] '*[…] Verumtamen corpus Domini cum pixide lignea, in qua super altare et super ipsa liteamina positum erat, ignis undique seuiens omnino non tetigit, adeo ut pannus etiam sericus, quo ipsum uasculum operiebatur, omnio appareret illesus. […] Nec iam incendii dampna plangere potuerunt, de quo tale miraculum, tantasque reliquias extulerunt. Hoc nobis retulit quidam religiosus monachus Clarevallis, qui eiusdem presbiteri nepos, dum adhuc esst in seculo, candelam illam ante ipsum altare accendit et cuncta que acciderant ipse vidit'.* Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, pp. 168-70.

[69] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 85a, p. 168. For other examples of fireproof eucharists, see Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, pp. 332-4.

frequently involved visions of Christ and the Virgin, directing devotional attention towards the incarnate Christ. The rites for showing, processional conveyance, and adoration, arose from the liturgical devotion to the relics of saints, highlighting the similar regard in which the eucharist was held.[70]

The miraculous discoveries of incorrupt hosts which celebrate the eucharistic union with God and reinforce the physicality of the host are analogous with the visions of the Christ Child on the altar.[71] Images of the Christ child as 'immolated innocent' proliferated in the twelfth century, and brought together the symbolism of the presence of a real, suffering body, and that of redemption through sacrifice.[72] This linked the Nativity with the Passion, and helped to train the mind to think of the transubstantiated Christ as the real Christ.[73] Occasionally the child appeared with his mother, highlighting her role as mediator and celebrant.[74] The increasing emphasis on the necessity of communion, and the requirement of proper penitential preparation, increased the fear of unworthy reception. Undeserving communicants could be difficult to gauge through external signs, hence the presence of stories involving unfit priests or recipients in collections like the *LVMC*.[75]

Cistercian devotion to the eucharist and concerns about its proper reception were not confined to exempla collections, but were expressed across genres. The *vita* of Ida of Nivelles (c.1197-1231), for example, reported a vision of a new-born baby in the host during a Christmas mass.[76] By around 1240 there may have been as many as 1500 beguines in the diocese of Liège,

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[70] E. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The origin of the rite and the development of its interpretation* (Collegeville, MN, 1999) p. 235.
[71] See for example *LVMC* Chapter 3, pp. 9-13, and Chapter 19, pp. 46-50.
[72] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 136. See pp. 135-9 for an overview of the imagery associated with the child in the host in the thirteenth century.
[73] Ibid., p. 137.
[74] Ibid., p. 142-7.
[75] Ibid., p. 148.
[76] Ibid., p. 143. Goswin of Villers, *The Life of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles*, in M. Cawley (trans. and ed.) *Send Me To God: The Lives of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles, Nun of La Ramee, Arnulf, Lay Brother of Villers,*

and by 1300 there were approximately 100 Cistercian houses between the Meuse and Rhine rivers.[77] The *vitae* of both Cistercian and beguine saints contain strong themes of eucharistic devotion, and Rubin stresses the 'fascination with the tangible, physical contact with the suffering Christ, through his offering of himself in so vulnerable a form to the world'.[78] The physical interaction with the eucharist is evident in the *LVMC*. In Chapter 22, the taste of the host is stressed.[79] A brother from Clairvaux experienced a taste as sweet as honeycomb when he received communion in a state of virtue, and a bitter taste following a conflict with another monk.[80] The development of the feast of Corpus Christi in the thirteenth century in this area, following the vision of Juliana of Cornillon (c.1193-1258), also demonstrates the wider public appetite for regular celebration of the eucharist.[81] These examples fit within the first category offered by Rubin unusual sensations associated with communion as a reward for faith and piety.

Overall, the *LVMC* is a useful source for the devotional interests of Clairvaux in the twelfth century. The relative disinterest in the relics of saints suggests that it is reasonable to argue that the *LVMC* prioritised an understanding of the eucharist when teaching novices. Herbert's purpose was to 'encourage ordinary monks to be satisfied with the common life by demonstrating some of its latent potential'.[82] The use of oral sources maintains the focus on the interests of ordinary monks. The inclusion of written sources from outside of the order, such as

and Abundus, Monk of Villers, by Goswin of Bossut (Turnhout, 2003), Chapter 21 pp. 62-64. For other visions involving the eucharist in the *Life of Ida*, see Chapter 19 for the Christ child at a Pentecost dinner, pp. 58-60, and Chapter 20, for the eucharist during harvest, pp. 60-2. See Chapter 3 of this thesis for a more detailed discussion of twelfth-century Cistercian hagiography.

[77] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 166-7.

[78] Ibid., p. 168.

[79] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, Chapter 22 *De fratre qui comunicando senciebat dulcorem mirabilem in ore* p. 53.

[80] '*Frater quidam de Claravalle, cum in quadam die dominica solito more sacram comunionem acciperet, visum est illi tunc et per totam deinceps diem quod favum mellis dulcissimum in ore teneret […] Cumque pacificam hostiam necdum pacificato fratre perciperet, visum est illi quod amarissimum absincii pabulum faucibus iniecisset'*. Ibid., p. 53.

[81] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 164-176.

[82] Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', p. 47.

the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, suggests that Herbert was not wedded to Cistercian sources, but instead aimed to 'unify the order through a common treasury of memories and a common experience'.[83] The *LVMC*'s sources can be compared with those used by Conrad of Eberbach and Caesarius of Heisterbach; the *DM* especially highlights the role of the General Chapter in the transmission of exempla in the early thirteenth century.

The *LVMC* prioritised visions over contact with relics. Casey states 'in Herbert's mind, visions are the means by which weak human minds are guided, corrected, motivated and sustained in the doing of good and avoidance of evil'.[84] These visions included the Virgin, Christ, the Apostles, and Bernard of Clairvaux, among others. Such visions also occurred in conjunction with communion. The few mentions of saints' bodily remains are focused on the discovery of incorruptible bodies; a characteristic that fits alongside the function of the consecrated host as Christ's body. The veneration of the founders and early monks of the order is limited. While individuals may be described as 'holy' or 'venerable', no consideration is given to reverence for their relics.

This collection does not provide evidence of concerns related to the disruptive presence of pilgrims in the Cistercian cloister as noted in the hagiography discussed in the previous chapter. There is, however, a concern about the proper reception of the eucharist. The continued transmission of these stories and their adaptation over time demonstrates the gradual development of a Cistercian collective identity, especially when the shared themes of hagiography are considered. The devotion to the Virgin, interest in the eucharist, and emphasis on Cistercian community through both participation in the mass and the receipt of visions, are present in texts produced by members of the order across genres. In the next two collections

[83] Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections', p. 906.
[84] Casey, 'Hebert of Clairvaux's Book of Wonderful Happenings', p. 52.

considered in this chapter, concerns surrounding pilgrims become more apparent, highlighting the benefit of comparing the development of themes across these chronologically-distinct collections.

2. Relics in the Exordium Magnum Cisterciense

The *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense* is a Cistercian exempla collection from c.1193-c.1210 written by Conrad of Eberbach. While similar in content to the *LVMC*, in terms of structure and organisation the *EM* represents the next stage in a developing Cistercian exempla tradition. Certain themes, such as the importance of the eucharist or the Order's relationship with the Virgin, are still significant to both Cistercian devotional practice and the material taught to novices, changes in emphasis are also evident. The interest in the miracle of transubstantiation is present but placed alongside the veneration of a wider range of corporeal and contact relics indicating a new attention to sacred objects, especially those created by the Order. The *EM* therefore provides details about the burial of Cistercian abbots, and the practice of keeping Stephen Harding's staff in the sacristy. Unlike the *LVMC,* the *EM* expresses anxieties about the presence of lay pilgrims in the Cistercian cloister.

Conrad's name appears in scribal additions to two early manuscripts. These state that 'A certain abbot, Conrad of Eberbach, who was a monk in Clairvaux, composed this book', and that 'the book of illustrious holy men of the Cistercian Order by the monk, Dom Conrad'.[85] There is no evidence for the date of Conrad's birth, or his entrance to monastic life. Conrad states he experienced Clairvaux under abbots Peter Monoculus (1179-86) and Garnier of Rochefort (1186-1193) and had seen Dom Gerard and Geoffrey of Auxerre, so may have been

[85] P. Savage, 'Introduction', *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, p. 24. The manuscripts in question are MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. acq. 364, folio 2r, and Codex Parisinus, which Savage suggests is of Germanic provenance, probably from the North, (fn. 81).

at Clairvaux from 1168.[86] Griesser notes the only independent reference to Conrad is found in a letter confirming a transfer of property between Eberbach and Val-Dieu. This was issued under the authority of abbot William of Clairvaux, and signed by Conrad, and the abbots of Fontenay, Himmerod, Schonau, and Otterburg, all houses in Clairvaux's line.[87]

The *EM* was created in in two distinct stages.[88] The first four books focus on Clairvaux and the French Cistercians and were likely written by 1193. The last two books contain similar material related to the German houses and were written around 1210.[89] The first three books are organised as history and hagiography; later the style is more purely exempla. The early books provide historical context for thirteenth-century Cistercians, and Conrad includes narrative historical accounts and documentary sources and stories.[90] The monks presented in book four are generally anonymous; their identities less important than the lessons drawn from the stories. The inclusion of exempla in this collection then demonstrates the use of miraculous stories to remember the past, as well as the usual didactic imperative. The divide within the collection reflects Conrad's monastic career. The first stage was completed at Clairvaux, the second after his move to Eberbach. Conrad had thus moved away from the geographical and spiritual centre of the order. As the early books focus on events at Clairvaux, even to the exclusion of Cîteaux, and the later are more inclusive, this could reflect the changing perspective of the author.

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[86] Conrad of Eberbach *EM* 6.10.
[87] Savage, 'Introduction', *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, p. 26. The letter states that it was 'Enacted in the year of grace 1221, in the month of May, at the time in which the lord Abbot Conrad of Eberbach began to function as abbot,' Citing B, Griesser, 'Introduction', *Exordium magnum cisterciense,* p. 34.
[88] Conrad of Eberbach, *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux: A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order. The Exordium Magnum of Conrad of Eberbach*. (Trans. B. Ward and P. Savage, Ed. E. R. Elder) (Collegeville, MN, 2012), Conrad of Eberbach*, Exordium magnum cisterciense sive narration de initio cisterciensis ordinis auctore Conrado,* (ed.) B. Griesser (Rome, 1961; rpt. Turnhout).
[89] B. P. McGuire outlines the rationale for this dating, "Structure and Consciousness in the '*Exordium magnum cisterciense'*, pp. 39-40.
[90] For example the *Privilege of the Lord Pope Paschal* inserted into Book 1 Chapter 20, pp. 91-2, and the *Decree of Pope Callistus* inserted into Book 1 Chapter 30, pp. 111-2.

The transmission of the *EM* illustrates how popular the text was, how many novices might have encountered the collection, and how the collection was edited. Griesser counted 45 extant manuscripts, of which 7 can be dated to the thirteenth century. These are divided into two groups; complete manuscripts that contain all of Book 1, and shortened manuscripts with lacuna between chapters 14 and 20.[91] The chapters in question include Conrad's critical comments concerning Robert of Molesme. The shorter manuscripts received wider distribution. Griesser suggested omission may not have been intentional, but rather the result of the loss of a folio.[92] The effect is to reinforce the importance and centrality of the role of St Bernard in the history of the order. As will be noted below, such an emphasis was already clear in the complete version of the *EM*.[93]

This prologue provides Conrad's stated aims for the work:

> 'Reading this then gives witness
> To the exertions of the senior monks of Clairvaux;
> When read and reread it is profitable to those
> Against whom the temptations of the flesh have not prevailed
> […]
> May their lifestyle be to you, I pray, a living lesson;
> May you amend your wicked habits according to this standard,
> […]
> If, on the other hand, you are lazy and lethargic, sluggishly snoring,
> Aspiring with a withered heart only to idleness;
> If sacred and fervent studies are a burden to you-
> May this little book fly far from your hands.[94]

[91] Griesser, 'Introduction', *Exordium magnum cisterciense,* p. 7.
[92] Ibid., p. 9.
[93] The printed tradition of the *EM* has followed the shorter version. The 1621 Pamplona edition was used by Jacob Merlo-Horstius in 1641 for his edition of Bernard's *Opera*, by Angel Manrique in the *Annales Cistercienses* of 1642, and reprinted in 1871 at Rixheim under the direction of abbot Ephrem van der Meulen of Olenburg (Savage, 'Introduction', *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, p. 29-33). The independently compiled 1660 edition was based on an incomplete manuscript, and this version was included in *PL* (Bertrand Tissier, prior of Bonnefontaine, created the 1660 edition based on an incomplete manuscript from Foigny (Laon 331) which may date from as early as 1225, PL 185: 995-1198). The prologue, 106 lines of verse, was never included in these editions, and appeared in print for the first time in Griesser's 1961 edition (Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum cisterciense sive narration de initio cisterciensis ordinis auctore Conrado,* (ed.) B. Griesser (Rome, 1961; rpt. Turnhout)).
[94] *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, pp. 40-1. Unless otherwise stated, the Latin in this section will be taken from Griesser, *Exordium magnum cisterciense*, the English translations from *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*. *Monstrarunt factis patrando consona dictis.*

The *EM* was intended to provide evidence of great people and deeds and to be used as an example of a virtuous life. While occasionally examples were drawn from outside of the Order, the focus was on exemplary Cistercians. The same intention is stated again at the end of Book 2, the end of Book 4, and the final synopsis.[95] Conrad stated he wished to 'hand down a certain knowledge of our Order from its inception to our brothers […] in the more remote parts of the world', and stop those 'who openly slander our Order to seculars and those ignorant of the facts'.[96] These statements suggest the varieties of audience Conrad envisioned for his collection. 'Whoever […] hastens in the fruitful contest of the monk to strive'[97] suggests that Conrad was talking to novices, but at other points the text suggests he was talking to monks of all levels, even illiterate lay brothers, those who may 'read or hear'.[98]

The comments Conrad makes about the 'slander' of the order refers to criticism from Benedictine communities in Germany. There is a clear point of divergence from the *LVMC*; while the earlier text found some popularity outside of the Order, it was written for an internal

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Post Claraevallis seniroum strenuitatis
Lectio testis adest, quae lecta relectaque prodest
His, quibus illecebrae carnis non praevaluere
[…]
Desuoer infusa, quae profert vallis opima
Virtutumque viros meritis facit esse beatos.
Ipsorum vita tibi sit, rogo, lectio viva
Iureque censoris vitiosos corrige mores,
Ut castigates affectibus his merearis
Inter purpureas iungi super astra catervas
[…]
Ast piger ac torpens et inerti corpore stertens,
Otia suspirans, arentia pectora gestans,
Cui sacri studia feruoris sunt onerosa,
Illius a minibus procul auolet iste libellous
pp. 3-4.

[95] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 2.34, 4.35, 6.10.

[96] Ibid., 6.10, p. 542.

[97] Ibid., Prologue '*Quisquis ad aeternam cupiens pertingere vitam, Currere felicem monachi contendis agonem*' p. 47.

[98] Ibid., 5.5 '*Legervit vel audierit*'.

audience. Conrad compiled his collection partly out of a fear of negligence or laxness in standards, but also to counter external criticism:

> No small necessity compels us, for the monks of the black Order, mostly those living in the provinces of Germany, will not stop criticizing our sacred Order wherever and to whomever they can, asserting that our holy fathers left the monastery of Molesme scandalously and disobediently, against the will of their abbot.[99]

The *EM* had a dual purpose; to aid the observance of the brethren who could fail the order from within, but also to admonish those criticising from the outside. This purpose is reflected in the miracles chosen. Throughout the collection Conrad placed miracles within the Cistercian tradition, emphasising holy men following the rules and customs of the Order and grounding the novices in the Order's history. In Book 1, Conrad defended contemporary Cistercian practice, demonstrating that the Order was returning to the Rule, not innovating. In describing the order of Cluny, for example, Conrad stated observance had 'degenerated because of foreign and adulterating customs, indeed had been darkened and veiled by desolation from the pristine integrity of its purity and sanctity'.[100] In contrast Conrad told the reader that the Cistercians had been 'reformed and directed to the pathway of truth by the Cistercian fathers.'[101] Seeking to place Cistercian life in a continuous monastic tradition, the next chapter outlines the early history of the order and reassures the reader that they had chosen well, as the order was 'showered by the abundant blessings of God's grace from the outset.'[102]

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[99] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM,* 1.10 p. 69. '*Porro ad hoc opus non solum devotion et utilitas rerum nos invitat, verum etiam necessitas nonnulla compellit. Monachi namque nigri ordinis, maxime in provinciis Germaniae degentes, ubicumque vel apud quoscumque possunt, sacro ordini nostro derogare non cessant asserentes sanctos patres nostros cum scandalo et inobedientia contra voluntatem abbatis sui de Molismensi coenobio egressos fuisse*' p. 22.

[100] Ibid., 1.9 p. 68. '*Quam peregrinis et adulterinis consuetudinibus, immo desolationibus fuscata et obnubilata a pristina suae puritatis sanctitatisque integritate degeneravit*' p. 21.

[101] Ibid., 1.9 p. 68. '*Ut nos, qui per gratiam Dei in renovato et ad tramitem veritas per Cistercienses patres correcto monastico ordine Domino militamus'*, p. 21.

[102] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 1.10 p. 69 '*Qualiter Cisterciensis ordo sumpsit exordium quamque copiosa benediction gratiae Dei a principo sui perfusus sit'*, p. 22.

Conrad's restatement of purpose also demonstrates the text was compiled in stages. The prologue indicates there would be four books; the contents of the last two books are not mentioned. In these latter books the focus shifts from the fathers and saints of the order, to sinners and transgressors from within the order and the maintenance of discipline. Savage noted these books may have been addressed to yet another audience; ordained monks who heard confession. Book 5, for example, is concerned with the 'Devotions and Dangers of Monastic Life'. In 5.12 the attitude of the confessor is shown to be important for the future actions of the penitent.[103] Conrad stated 'far from alienating with severe reproaches those sinners who come to lay bare their consciences in shamefaced confession, discernment consoles them and relieves them with tender caresses'.[104] If the confessor imposed too harsh a penance, the sinner may never complete it, and even be reluctant to return in the future.

The purpose of the *EM* also explains the sources Conrad consults. In the first book he stated 'I have inserted into my narrative […] stories about other seniors of Clairvaux […] so that what was scattered here and there, and mixed up with other stories, could better enlighten and better profit anyone reading it'.[105] In addition to his own knowledge and oral sources (he heard about the revolt of the lay brothers at Schonau from his abbot at Eberbach who had been the sub-cellarer at the time of the revolt, for example),[106] he is clear about his reference to existing texts. These included the *LVMC* and possibly the collections compiled by Prior John (c.1171-9) and Goswin (finished after 1192).[107] Savage highlighted evidence Conrad consulted the *Exordium*

[103] Savage, 'Introduction', *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, p. 9.
[104] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 5.12, pp. 440-1. This story was taken from John of Clairvaux's *Liber visionum et miraculorum* Troyes, Bib. Mun, MS 946. Gressier (p. 300 n. 1) notes similar accounts elsewhere.
[105] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 1.32 pp. 114-5 '*Sicut in libello ipsius digesta invenimus, hui operi nostro inservimus, ut, quae ille sparsim et aliis narrationibus permixta posuit, hic in ordinem redacta et sibi similibus copulate clarius elucescant et ad utilitatem legentium magis proficiant'*, p. 61.
[106] Ibid., 5.10.
[107] For example Chapter 3, *De eo qui frequenter videbat in altari Dominum Ihesum Christum in forma pueri*, is borrowed from Prior John's *Collectaneum Exemplorum et Visionum Clarevallense*, (ed.) Olivier Legendre, CCCM 208 (Turnhout, 2005), Chapter 41.

Parvum, Exordium cistercii, Carta caritatis, and *Vita Prima*, and the sermons and treatises by Bernard of Clairvaux. Aelred of Rievaulx, Guerric of Igny, and Nicholas of Clairvaux.[108]

Conrad did not reuse these sources verbatim. When incorporating material from the *EP,* expanded and revised in c.1147, Conrad reorganised the stories to fit his needs, demonstrating the changing concerns of the order. Chapters 11 to 21 of the *EM* are based on the *EP*, and while nearly all the material is used, it has been rearranged to emphasise the prominence of Cîteaux and Clairvaux, suggesting why the text was so popular in houses in this filiation.[109] The chapters of the *EP* that contain the earliest documents related to Alberic's tenure as abbot are missing, and the story about Robert's return from Cîteaux to Molesme. Conrad also added the attack on Robert of Molesme for his instability and lack of discipline in 1.15. Copies made after Robert's canonisation in 1222 omitted this passage, demonstrating the ability of exempla collections to reveal changing attitudes to practices and individuals.[110] These stories were an important part of the process of remembering and forgetting as the history of the Order was taught to novices as they became Cistercians.

McGuire noted that Conrad made an effort to distinguish the influence of Bernard; the *EP* refers obliquely to the recruitment of thirty novices without mentioning Bernard's name. The *EM*, however, emphasises and rejoices about his role, investing Cistercian authority in his charismatic leadership.[111] Stories from the *LVMC* are largely confined to books 1-4. Where the *EM* has borrowed from the *LVMC*, Herbert's exempla have been embedded in Conrad's own introduction and conclusion, usually with a more explicit, or completely new, moral lesson.[112]

[108] Savage, 'Index of Patristic and Medieval References', *The Great Beginning of Cîteaux*, pp. 580-5. For further discussion see *The Letter Collections of Nicholas of Clairvaux*, (ed.) L. Wahlgren-Smith (Oxford, 2018).
[109] McGuire "Structure and Consciousness in the '*Exordium magnum cisterciense'*, pp. 44-45.
[110] Ibid., p. 43.
[111] Ibid., pp. 44-45.
[112] McGuire "Structure and Consciousness in the '*Exordium magnum cisterciense'*, pp. 45-7.

These changes fit the *EM*'s focus on miracles that occur at Clairvaux. For example, in the *LVMC*, 2.21 relates three visions. The same incident in the *EM*, 4.7, has been reduced to the third miracle alone, presumably because only the last miracle occurred at Clairvaux.[113] The *EM* was a product of a process of selection and editing.

The Cistercian exempla collections work to cultivate a distinct institutional identity. To this end the first book of the *EM* focuses on the institution and rise of the monastic order and the first Cistercians. The book begins with the Gospel, and moves through an account of the desert fathers, the lives of St Benedict and Odo of Cluny, and ends with the founding of the Cistercian order:

> Just as at the beginning of grace, when Christ our Lord and Saviour was born, the world, while it knew him not, received a pledge of new redemption, of ancient reconciliation, or eternal happiness, so too in these last days, when charity is cold and iniquity everywhere abounds, the almighty and merciful Lord planted the seed of that same grace in the wilderness of Cîteaux.[114]

The reform movement is shown to be a continuation of the gospel narrative and return to the purity of the Rule. The Cistercians are linked to the foundation of Christian life, as Conrad claims the Holy Spirit is responsible for the creation of the order.

The first book contains several miracle stories involving contact relics. In Chapter 9, borrowed from the *Vita Hugonis* by Raynald, the *EM* relates how Hugh, abbot of Cluny, cured a paralytic when visiting a community of canons regular in Paris, using a fragment from the cloak of Saint Peter.[115] Conrad was careful to note 'the holy abbot was able to obtain so glorious

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[113] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, 2.21, Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 4.7

[114] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 1.13 p. 77 '*Sicut enim in initio gratiae nascente Christo Domino saluatore nostro mundus, dum nesciret, pignus redemptionis novae, reparationis antiquae, felicitas aeternae suscepit, sic in diebus istis novissimis refrigescente iam caritate et abundante usquequaque iniquitate omnipotens et misericors Dominus eiusdm gratiae suae seminarium plantavit in hermo Cisterciensi, quod Spiritus sancti pluuia irrigatum spiritalis pinguedinis largissimum sumpsit incrementum crescens et proficiens in arborrem grandem, pulchram et fructiferam nimis'* p. 28.

[115] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 1.9. The story can be found in the *Vita Hugonis*, 2.10 (PL 159:897).

a miracle from the bounty of God because he attributed to not to his own merits but to the special virtue of his patron, blessed Peter the apostle.'[116] This is important because it demonstrates the care with which miracles were attributed. The abbot stresses the miracle occurred due to the intercession of his patron. The incident notes the miracle was relayed to the brothers at Cluny, who venerated the apostle. While this miracle occurred outside of the Cistercian cloister, its inclusion in the *EM* suggests the humility of the abbot and the devotion of Cluny were to be admired and emulated, and could be contrasted with the later negligence that took over the community.[117] The story suggests that Conrad saw a therapeutic potential in contact relics, though this was not given the same prominence as miraculous visions.

Visions are prominent in the *EM*. We are told that while travelling in Trier, abbot Gerard stopped at the monastery of St Matthias. During the night he went to the crypt to pray before the shrines of SS Matthias, Eucharius, Valerius, and Maternus. His devotion and proximity to the tombs resulted in a vision of reassurance from the saints, encouraging him to persevere in his duty as abbot, and assuring him of his eventual reward.[118] In this story an abbot travelling on business for his abbey is shown to take advantage of the pilgrimage opportunities offered, demonstrating the importance of veneration of relics, at least to some individuals. It is interesting that the vision is similar in content to those received by brethren praying to St Bernard. He often appeared to novices to provide encouragement; occasionally to abbots despairing of their duties and wishing to resign and return to a life of contemplation.[119]

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[116] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 1.9 p. 65 '*Tanto quippe facilius abbas sanctus tam gloriosum miraculum a divina largitate impetrare potuit, quanto hoc non suis metritis, sed specialis patroni sui beati Petri apostolic virituti assignavit, cuiius reverend nomini se attitulatam esse nobilis ecclesia Cluniacensis gloriatur cuiusque sacrae venerationi fratrum universitas devotissime invigilate'*, p. 19.
[117] Ibid., p. 59, '*Quid agimus, quod negligentia, quae proh dolor! In ipsa quoque religiosorum conversatione deprehenditur, ad vitia tam proclivis est*?'
[118] Ibid., 2.27 pp. 176-81.
[119] See Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion of visions of St Bernard.

These similarities suggest that visions and discussion with the saints were prized, perhaps more so than curative miracles. This may have been due to the Cistercians' understanding of the role of miracles in spiritual development. As was discussed in Chapter One, Bernard elucidated sacred objects and sacred spaces for novices, pilgrims, and the Knights Templar, because he hoped that such a starting point would lead to greater engagement with Christ.[120] The description of abbot Gerard's vision and discussion with the saints is thus a more impressive miracle, as he used his opportunity to discuss points of doctrine. After the first appearance of the saints, when they encouraged Gerard to persevere as abbot, Gerard 'began to think more and more lovingly about the saints who had appeared to him, he very much wondered about the soul of blessed Maternus, where it had been and what kind of life it had lived during the forty days when his body had lain in the tomb, before he was restored to life by the staff of the apostle.'[121] Conrad states that because the question came from a place of piety rather than curiosity, Gerard was answered. Maternus appeared again and told him that 'in my body I slept the sleep of death, but my soul was alive to God.'[122] Questions that came from devotion could be answered; those that came from excessive curiosity could be punished, as will be discussed below.

Unlike the *LVMC,* the *EM* expresses anxieties about the presence of lay pilgrims in the Cistercian environment, echoing the concerns expressed in the Order's hagiography which were demonstrated in Chapter Three. Stories related to the life of St Bernard are found throughout the text. A large proportion of the material is borrowed from the *VP*. The stories included in the *EM* reinforce the sense of community and benefits of Cistercian membership seen in the *LVMC*.

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[120] See Chapter One for a more detailed discussion of Bernard's *In Praise of the New Knighthood*.
[121] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 2.27, p. 180, '*Ceterum affectuosius de eisdem sanctis, qui sibi apparverant, cogitare incipiens mirabatur valde de anima beati Materni, ubinam fuisset vel quali vita vixisset spatio quadraginta dierum illorum, quibus corpus eius in sepulcro iacvit, antequam per baculum apostolic resuscitaretur'* p. 116.
[122] Ibid., p. 181, '*Somno mortis in corpore dormiens, Deo tamen in anima vivens'*, p. 117.

In recounting the events at Bernard's funeral, for example, Conrad explains that the abbot was so concerned by the crowds of pilgrims that he ordered the deceased to stop performing miracles for the laity.[123]

> For if, due to an increase in miracles, an intolerably large multitude would continue to gather, monastic discipline would be destroyed by the unruly nature of such crowds, and this place would slacken in the zeal of its holy piety.[124]

The suggestion that posthumous miracles would draw pilgrims and disrupt the peace of the cloister appears fitting with Cistercian ideals of removal from the world and reinforces the Order's values.[125] The prohibition of miracles at the funeral emphasises Bernard's role for his monks rather than the wider public. Bernard's relics were exclusively Cistercian property. Conrad includes anecdotes of Bernard's preaching tours but emphasises these occurred at a distance from the monastery.

Some examples serve to illustrate this point. In 2.18 the imprint of Bernard of Clairvaux's feet in the ground in Gascony reportedly cured a blind man, after Bernard had left the area.[126] The sufferer was led to the place where Bernard had stood, and threw himself to the ground. After some time, he rubbed the dust in his eyes, and was cured. Conrad stresses the man's faith, humility, and devotion, and that the cure was performed 'by the mercy of God'.[127] The implication is instead that Bernard could perform curative miracles *in absentia*, and that by doing so, he limited the demand for his presence and probability that pilgrims would follow

[123] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM,* 2.20, pp. 156-9. See chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of this episode.
[124] '*Considerans tantam importunitatem tumultantis populi et ex praesentibus future conicens vehementer timere coepit, ne, si crebrescentibus signis tam intolerabilis illuc populorum turba concurretet, earum improbitate disciplina periret ordinis et sanctae religionis feruor in eodem loco tepesceret. Quapropter habita super hoc deliberation reverenter accedens per virtutem obedientiae, ne signa ulterius faceret, inhibuit'* p. 96.
[125] For further discussion of Cistercian miracle prohibitions, see Chapter Two.
[126] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM,* 2.18, pp. 152-3.
[127] Ibid., p.153.

him back to Clairvaux.[128] A story related by Gerald of Wales concerning another preaching Cistercian, Baldwin of Forde, provides another example of earth functioning as a contact relic in the late twelfth century. In 1.11 an elderly blind woman sent her son to the preacher, hoping to obtain a cure through the archbishop's garments. The man brought back some earth which Baldwin had stood on, and the woman applied it to her mouth and eyes and was cured. The earth thus functioned as a contact relic.[129] The story in the *EM* suggests that Bernard's footprints were temporary, unlike the analogous imprint relic on the Mount of Olives.[130] There the tradition that an imprint of the footprints remained after Christ's ascension led to the construction of a chapel for pilgrims.[131]

The story related in 2.19 follows this pattern. While preaching the crusade in Freiburg, Bernard travelled with a young noble, Henry, who had taken the cross. Henry's servant blasphemed against God and was sceptical of Bernard's 'power of good deeds'.[132] The *EM* records this servant then fell and broke his neck. Henry begged Bernard to save him, and Bernard, stating that 'the Lord does not will that anyone should die because of me', went back to restore the man to life. This miracle emphasises the power of Bernard, and the 'medicinal unction' of his spittle. While the incident occurred away from the monastery, and the recipient was not a monk, Conrad highlights the repentance of the servant, and his decision to take the cross. Henry became a monk at Clairvaux.[133] The *VP* includes numerous miracles performed

[128] See Chapter Two of this thesis for further discussion of Bernard's miracles and concerns about the disturbance created by pilgrims in the monastery.
[129] Gerald of Wales*, Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol VI: Iterarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, (ed.) J. F. Dimock, *Rolls Series* 21.6 (London, 1868), p. 83. *'Ipsa vero munus oblatum cum gaudio magno suscipiens, et in orientem cum orationum instantia genua ponens, ori et oculis cespitem apposuit; et statim luminis laetitam, quam penitus amiserat, tam viri sancti meritis, quam fide propria et devotione recuperavit'*. I am grateful to Dr Beth Spacey for this reference.
[130] Acts 1:9-11
[131] D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 72-88.
[132] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 2.19 p. 155.
[133] Ibid., 2.10 p. 156.

by Bernard for lay people on his travels; the contents of the *EM* reflects its audience and purpose in its selection. While addressed to a wider audience than the *LVMC,* the *EM* was still an exempla collection intended for the edification of the brethren, and as such, emphasises miracles more related to their concerns. The story demonstrates the importance of piety and confession, and Bernard's mercy. The main characters convert to lives of crusading and monasticism, and so fit the focus of the *EM*.

Conrad also relayed stories that connected Bernard to eucharistic miracles. While travelling in Italy, a possessed woman was brought to him in hope of a cure. The *EM* states that Bernard proceeded to celebrate Mass as usual, then placed the consecrated host on the paten and held it over the sufferer's head to cast out the demon. Conrad explained, 'when ordinary prayers were powerless to cast him [the devil] out, he was routed by the faith and power of the divine sacrament'.[134] The consecrated host was used in place of a relic to perform the exorcism, demonstrating the regard in which the eucharist was held, and the new roles the host was gaining. While the eucharist evolved to take a role as a sacred object 'quite distinct from relics' as part of a wider development in devotional practice 'from an essentially hagiocentric practice to a Christocentric one', patterns of eucharistic veneration often followed those of the cult of saints.[135] By the thirteenth century the host was no longer used in altar consecrations, as it was seen to be 'God's very body, not a sign of holiness'.[136] The use of the host for healing in the same manner as relics, however, was widespread. Various exemplary stories were set around the ritual of bringing the eucharist to the sick, often highlighting the danger the host faced in

[134] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 6.2, p. 510, '*Quem consuetudinaria sibi precum facilitate fugare non poterat, fide et virtute divinorum sacramentorum potenter eiecit'*, pp. 392-3.
[135] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 26.
[136] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* p. 290.

public areas.[137] Bernard's use of the eucharist to perform an exorcism would then have been appropriate.

6.2 also centres on the actions of Bernard. During the Papal Schism, Bernard faced difficulty in convincing the count of Poitiers to submit to Innocent II. Bernard decided to celebrate Mass, while the count and others under sentence of excommunication remained at the door of the church. After the consecration Bernard 'took the paten holding the precious pledge of our redemption' to the door.[138] The presence of the consecrated host, coupled with Bernard's menacing words, led the count to repent. Again, Conrad attributes this miraculous change of heart to the 'virtue of the immaculate sacrifice and the faith of the man of God'.[139] Both chapters praise simplicity and faith, while questioning the mystery of the sacrament is described as presumption. Conrad's regard for the eucharist is evident in a speech inserted into the same chapter:

> How marvellous it is that unstable matter, which in itself is only vile and perishable, when consecrated by the rites of the Church is transubstantiated into the true Body and true Blood of Christ our Lord […] But these sublime gifts, which ineffable bounty dispenses freely to poor mortals, *can be seen only by the eyes of faith, while they remain veiled to the eyes of reason.*[140]

The miracle of transubstantiation, apparent in every mass, was thus the most impressive, and the host the greatest relic. A similar idea was echoed by Innocent III in 1215, in his consecration sermon at the church of S. Maria in Trastevere. Then he suggested that the greatest miracle was 'the eucharistic sacrifice of Christ himself, repeated every day by simple priests at the altar, and

[137] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* pp. 126-8.
[138] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 6.2, p. 511.
[139] Ibid., 6.2 pp. 511-2.
[140] Ibid., 6.2 p. 512, '*Quae ipso aspect et aestimatione sui vilipendi poterat, per ecclesiasticae traditionis regulam consecrate in verum corpus et verum sanguinem Christi Domini nostril transsubstantietur fiatque pabulum dulcissimum, quo pim rationale, sed miserum iumentum deliciose refectum rationali, sed beatae naturae in beatitudinis Gloria consots efficitur! Ceterum haec altissima Dei magnolia, quae ineffabili dignatione gratiae suae miseris mortalibus largitur, fidei quidem manifesta sunt, rationi vero caeca'*, p. 394. My emphasis.

thus deeply significant for the faith of the whole church.'[141] In an earlier sermon at Fossanova, Innocent stated:

> Nothing was more marvellous […] than the eucharistic miracle which alone could bring an end to divisions between the learned and unlearned by demonstrating the significance to the faith.[142]

Innocent was conversant with Gregory the Great's ideas about miracles, and often cited Christ's commission to the apostles. This passage promised that 'signs would accompany those who believed' and thus spiritual miracles that revived souls were more significant than physical ones.[143] This perspective is evident in Cistercian thought generally with the prevalence of visions rather than healings in the exempla collections and hagiography.

In addition to these eucharistic miracles connected to St Bernard, Conrad related stories demonstrating Cistercian interest in the sacrament. 3.25 was borrowed from the *LVMC*.[144] Herbert's version of this story relates the miraculous events of Geoffrey's life, including the discovery of relics during the reconstruction of a church in Sorra.[145] Conrad was faithful to Herbert's interpretation, stressing the discovery confirmed the faith of those present, and referring to Psalm 15:10, 'I will not suffer my holy one to see corruption'.[146] The emphasis on the importance of the sacrament, and its incorruptibility, is evident in both collections. Conrad

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[141] B. Bolton, 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Supporting the Faith in Medieval Rome', *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, 2005) pp 157-178, pp. 159-160.
[142] PL 215: 1436, '*Cu ergo magnum et arduum sit sacramentum altaris'*, Bolton, 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles', p. 177.
[143] Bolton, 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles', p. 160, Mark 16:15-18.
[144] Herbert of Clairvaux *LVMC* 3.10.
[145] *'[…] Cum ergo ipsum altare in presencia sua dirui precepisset, repperit in eo capsulam scabrosam ac veterem, sanctorum reliquias continentem. Porrp inter easdem reliquias corpus Domini repositum erat, quod ita sanum et integrum, ita mundum et candidum et ab omni corrupcione pentius alienum repertum est, acsi recentissime ibi reconditum esset'.* Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, p. 159.
[146] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 3.25 p. 296.

did add a final note that Geoffrey was buried 'with fitting honour', again demonstrating the increased interest in the respect shown to deceased members of the order in the *EM*.[147]

The clearest interest in eucharistic miracles is found in Book 6. In the first chapter Conrad explored the implications of questioning transubstantiation. A monk of Clairvaux, released from his duties as abbot of Foigny, spent time in quiet contemplation. Conrad lamented that this lead to 'indiscreet curiosity.'[148]

> By looking into heavenly secrets, being greedy for spiritual sweetness, and seeking to penetrate the depths inaccessible to the angelic spirits themselves, in the end he failed to show the respect due to God's majesty.[149]

The monk began to doubt, and while suffering felt unable to partake in the sacrament. Eventually the monks of Foigny reclaimed their former abbot and he regained his faith. There is no miracle as such in this exemplum, but the importance of participating in communion and approaching the sacrament with due humility are clear. The monk's self-imposed exclusion from the rite is described as 'horrible suffering.'[150] The problem was resolved with patience, humility, and the help of the community.

This belief in the rewards of faith without question is also evident in the *LVMC,* and to an extent the eucharistic miracles in the *EM* can be discussed using the typology outlined above; visions intended to reward piety or remove doubt, the unusual behaviour of natural elements, the appearance of blood or flesh to an abuser of the sacrament, or the discovery of incorrupt hosts.[151] A fifth category is also needed. The *EM* includes the use of the host in healing miracles,

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[147] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 3.25 p. 296.
[148] Ibid., 6.1 p. 505.
[149] Ibid., 6.1 p. 506, '*Dum sacri mysterii dulcedinem ipsis, ut reor, angelicis spiritibus imperscrutabilem audius rimatur, summae maiestati debitam reverentiam non exhibens impegit in lapidem offensionis et Dominus in ira declinavit a servo suo',* p. 389.
[150] Ibid., 6.1 p. 507.
[151] See Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 118 for the first three categories and the discussion in Section 1 for the fourth.

explicitly taking on the function of a relic. In these stories contact with the consecrated host was able to cure the sufferer and confirm the faith of viewers in the sacrament.

Conrad describes practices that suggest the development of special burial practices for the most holy monks. These men were not venerated as saints or granted liturgical honour, but were treated with respect. In contrast to the *LVMC*, the *EM* provides several stories that describe the veneration of the Order's founders and burial practices, though these details are often not the focus of Conrad's story. In 1.20 Conrad focused on the privilege granted to the order by pope Paschal. In passing he mentions the burial of abbot Alberic before the doors of the chapel, in the place he had chosen.[152] 1.31 relates a prophecy of abbot Stephen, and incidentally mentions that he was later buried under an altar at the cloister of Cîteaux.[153] In 2.23, a story focused on the vision of a departed brother, the last paragraph notes that Robert, the second abbot of Clairvaux, was buried 'in the burial chamber which had been built in the wall of the cloister at Clairvaux, by the door of the church, and there also rested those other perfect and God-pleasing monks.'[154] 2.29 of the same book records the burial of Gerard 'reverently in a tomb raised above the paving stones outside the doors of the chapel at Clairvaux in the little chamber which had once been built to receive the holy bodies of the confessors Bernard and Malachy'.[155] These comments indicate Cistercian attitudes towards deceased abbots. There was a special burial place for most observant and holy monks, who were not venerated as saints necessarily, but treated with respect.

[152] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 1.20.
[153] Ibid., 1.31.
[154] Ibid., 2.23, p. 167 '*Reliquiae corporis eius conditae sunt in monumento, quod constructum est in muro claustri Claraevallis prope ostium ecclesiae, ubi et alii perfecti et vere Deo digni monachi requiescunt'* p. 105.
[155] Ibid., 2.29, p.187 '*Congratulantibus sanctum corpus eius ante fores oratorri Claravellis in cellula, quae olim ob receptionem corporum sanctorum confessorum Bernardi et Malachiae constructa fuerat, in sarcophago super pauimentum exaltato venerabilier conditum est',* p. 122.

This is evidence of a change in attitude from the *LVMC*, which does not comment on such burial arrangements. This change may have been due to the building work at Clairvaux, which was completed between the composition of these collections. As was noted in Chapter Two, the construction of the third abbey church allowed for the more prominent tombs of SS Bernard and Malachy and necessitated the translation of other remains. The translations allowed Conrad to comment on the new locations chosen.[156] 3.17 demonstrates how Cistercian ideas had changed between the compilation of the *LVMC* and *EM*, as Conrad adapted and amended these stories to better suit his purpose. The chapter describes the life of monk Gerard of Farfa, and the majority of Conrad's retelling follows the version in the *LVMC*.[157] The reader is told of the visions Gerard received from heaven, his gift of tears, a vision of St Bernard during his final illness, and his own posthumous visit to a lay brother named Lawrence.[158] Conrad added a final detail, however, describing the translation of Gerard's bones to the new church of Clairvaux; 'Gerard's sacred bones were taken up, with the honour and reverence their sanctity deserved, from the place where they had first been buried and placed in the tomb in which, as we said earlier, the venerable fathers Abbot Robert, Prior Humbert, and Subprior Odo had been laid'.[159] The *EM* does not state that Gerard's '*sacra ossa'* were treated differently to the bones of the '*venerabiles patres'*, or suggest that any of these men were accorded liturgical veneration. The choices surrounding burial locations, however, does suggest the Cistercians were creating and encouraging their own communities of the sacred through their enclosed burial practices.

[156] See Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion of the construction of Clairvaux III.
[157] Herbert of Clairvaux, *LVMC*, 2.29.
[158] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM* 3.17 pp. 269-272.
[159] Ibid., 3.17 pp 271-2. '*Transactis vero post obitum eius aliquantis annis, consummates iam novo clausto et nova ecclesia, quae licentia et benediction beati Bernardi initiate fuerat, sacra ossa ipsius de loco, quo primitus tumulata fuerant, sublata in theca, qua supra diximus venerabiles patres Robetum abbatem, Humbertum priorem, Odonem subpriorem reconditos fuisse, condigno honore ob reverentiam sanctitatis eius collocate sunt*', p. 193.

These burials, and the respect in which the monks concerned were held, were factors in the requests made by various monks to be buried at Clairvaux. Conrad records two such stories. 6.3 begins with the desire of Malachy to be buried near Bernard, and states 'because of his reputation he was allowed to die in this illustrious place.'[160] The main story in this chapter, however, concerns a monk named Balm, who lived in a Cistercian abbey near Rome. After visiting Clairvaux on business, he decided 'he would like, above all the delights and treasures of the world, to live and die at Clairvaux.'[161] He obtained a promise that at his death the Clairvaux community would recite the full Office of the Dead for him, and thereafter regarded himself as a member of that house. Whenever he heard of a death there, he prayed the Office. Conrad states that the Lord was pleased with his devotion and created an occasion for Balm to return to Clairvaux, where he caught a fatal fever. Balm had a vision of Christ, the Virgin, and St Bernard, along with 'many other saints shining in glory.'[162] The *EM* suggests Balm was granted his wish due to his humility and fear due to his imperfections, his obedience to the rule of stability that prevented his joining Clairvaux while alive. Conrad stresses that burial at Clairvaux was an honour; 'this holy judge gave him in heaven the ineffable glory for which he had earlier prayed humbly on earth, those things owed to perfect monks alone: to be associated by their sacred remains in their tombs.'[163]

The next chapter follows the same theme. A pious lay brother travelling with his abbot from Spain to the General Chapter desired to die at Clairvaux. When they arrived, 'he went to venerate the tombs of Saint Bernard, principle patron and renowned protector of that monastery,

[160] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 6.3, p. 518 '*et locum quidem pro gloria, diem pro merito'* p. 399.
[161] Ibid., 6.3, p. 518 '*vivere et mori in Claravalle cunctis divitiis et deliciis mundi praeposuisset*' p. 399.
[162] Ibid., 6.3, p. 521.
[163] Ibid., 6.3, p. 522 '*eiusdem obedientriae piissimus remunerator morienti benigne restituit ipsimque ineffabili gloriae eorum, quae solis perfectis monachis debetur, associavit in caelis, quorum sacris cineribus vel in sepultra sociari humilibus votorum suspiriis praeoptavit in terris*', p. 402.

and of blessed Malachy, his illustrious companion who is buried with him.'[164] Again the *EM* highlights the brother's piety and humility, and the pull of the tombs of Bernard and Malachy. There is nothing in Conrad's account to suggest that stopping at Clairvaux to venerate the tombs was seen as unusual. This suggests that pilgrims from within the Order travelling on monastic business, were very welcome, in contrast to the lay pilgrims at Bernard's funeral mentioned above. Again this points to the exclusive access the Order promoted for its saints.

This chapter also demonstrates the importance of the community's prayers for the fate of the brethren's souls:

> Not only must it be believed that any religious community supports and protects the weak by the merits and prayers of its members still struggling strenuously in this flesh of sin and guards their exit, but even more it must be hoped that it will achieve this by its glorious members who have merited blessed rest after the sweat of completing this holy warfare.[165]

Devotion to the relics of Bernard and Malachy was thus expressed through the desire to be buried *ad sanctos*. A similar perspective on the importance of the collective prayers of the community was seen in the *LVMC*, in the vision of the souls' procession through the graveyard in Chapter 78.

The vignettes in the exempla collections describing monks longing to die at Clairvaux, and those describing visions of deceased members of the community tell us something about the Order's sense of community and the belief in the power of intercession held by Cistercian saints. The importance of the space chosen for burial has been outlined by Cassidy-Welch, using theories borrowed from anthropology and sociology. She emphasised the difference between

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[164] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 6.4, p. 523 '*specialis patroni et tutoris eiudem loci, sancti scilicet Bernardi, nec non et insignis collateralis ipsius beati Malachiae tumbas suppliciter veneratus est*', p. 403.
[165] Ibid., 6.4, p. 524 '*nec solum religiosa quaelibet ecclesia credenda est in membris suis adhuc in carne peccati strenue militantibus infiros meritis et precibus fouere atque protegere exitumque munire, verum etiam multo magis in membris suis post sacrae peractaeque militiae sudores emeritorum requie et beatitudine gloriosis id speranda est actitare*' p. 404.

material and imagined spaces, and the ways in which space is produced. A cemetery, for example, is a 'fixed topographical site' which also 'describes the relationship between the living and the dead and systems of belief and ritual'.[166] Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, she noted the *practice* of space may be more significant than the construction of material space.[167] Space for burials, of the abbots, brethren, or laity, was created through practice. The changes in liturgical commemoration affected the areas seen as appropriate for burials.

Conrad has also left more evidence for Cistercian veneration of sacred objects than Herbert. In 1.27, for example, Conrad stated that Stephen Harding's abbatial staff is 'even to this day [...] is kept in the sacristy at Cîteaux out of reverence for so great a father and held in great veneration'.[168] The object was chosen as a symbol of Stephen's humility. The abbot 'hated all proud display; he was marked out only by his staff of office which he was accustomed to carry in processions on feast days'.[169] The example of the abbot is shown to be more important than the object. While the story says that the staff was held 'in great veneration', no details are given as to the form this veneration took. As no miracles are recorded in conjunction with the staff, it seems likely that the object was or safeguarded more as an item of memorabilia of an early member of the order than a relic. Even so, this detail demonstrates a shift from the *LVMC*, in the evidence given for the respect twelfth century Cistercians felt for the first generation of their order. The object prompted memories of the abbot's humility and example, but was not a miraculous relic.

[166] Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 2.
[167] Ibid., p. 7, her emphasis.
[168] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM*, 1. 27, p.106 '*Quae usque hodie in Cisterciensi secretario ob reverentiam tanti patris conservata et in magna veneration habita'*, p. 54.
[169] Ibid., 1. 27, p.106 '*Quamque odio habuerit omnem fastum superbiae, ferula pastoralis eius, cum qua in festivis processionibus incedere solebat'*, p. 53.

Overall, the *EM* demonstrates that many of the concerns expressed by Herbert of Clairvaux in the 1170s were still important a generation later. As has been demonstrated, the consecrated host was still central to Cistercian devotional practice, exemplifying unquestioning faith, humility, and community. The focus on Cistercians as miracle recipients is clear, whether they be monks, nuns, or lay brothers. The early mentions of miracles that occurred at Cluny in the *EM* were included only insofar as they highlight the greater success of Clairvaux. The miracles described are not portrayed as an incitement for pilgrimage, the visions provided a source of reassurance or correction, rather than an impetus for travel.

There are, however, some divergences between the collections. In the stories Conrad borrowed from the *LVMC*, the changes made suggest a different focus in c.1190-1220 from c.1170. For example, a greater attentiveness to the remains of the special Cistercian dead has developed. Devotion to the eucharist was still important, but the relics of the founders gained a greater prominence. The explicit aim in Book One to situate Cistercian miracles in a larger monastic history that stretched back to St Benedict was a result of both external criticism of the Order and Conrad's own fear of declining standards within it. His awareness of conditions within and without the order was likely due to his career path and move from Clairvaux to Eberbach, exposing him to conditions in different houses and different regions. The *EM* was thus shaped by different conditions than the *LVMC* and written for a broader audience. This different context affected both the content and organisation of the collection.

3. Relics in the Dialogus Miraculorum

The *Dialogus Miraculorum* was composed by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180-c.1240), in a different style to the collections discussed above.[170] The 746 stories are organised into twelve distinctions and are grouped by theme. McGuire argued the first book was completed by 1219, books II-V were written in 1220, VI-IX probably in 1221, and then X-XII in 1222, with revisions of the whole manuscript in 1223.[171] Caesarius included material found in the *LVMC* and the *EM*, in addition to other written and oral sources. Caesarius related stories from Cistercian houses and churches in France, Germany, Italy and the Holy Land. Miracle recipients span a broader range than previous collections, and include monks, nuns, lay brothers and the laity. This section will begin with a brief overview of the style, reception, and sources of *DM*, before discussing its content.

Perhaps reflecting Caesarius' education at the cathedral school of Cologne and his role as Master of Novices at Heisterbach Abbey, the work is written as a conversation between a senior monk and a novice. At the conclusion of each tale the senior monk explained the theological point of the story. McGuire suggested the format may have been a literary conceit or based on a particular individual.[172] The Prologue stated:

> Since it has been my duty […] to recite to the novices some of those miraculous deeds that have occurred within our Order in our own times and which still occur daily, I have been asked by certain people with much insistence to perpetuate those deeds in writing. For they said it would be an irrevocable loss if those things which might serve for the edification of posterity should vanish into oblivion.[173]

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[170] Caesarius of Heisterbach's *The Dialogue on Miracles*, translated by H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, with an introduction by G.G. Coulton, (London, 1929). *Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum,* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider (5 vols) (Turnhout, 2009). Hereafter referred to as *DM.*

[171] B. P. McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbch's Dialogus Miraculorum', *Analecta Cisterciensia,* 36 (1980), pp. 167-247, p. 199.

[172] McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister', pp. 241-3.

[173] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* Prologue '*Cum ex debito iniunctae sollicitudinis aliqua ex his quae in ordine nostro nostris temporibus miraculose gesta sunt et quotidie fiunt, recitarem noviciis, rogatus sum a quibusdam cum instantia multa, eadem scripto perpetuare. Dicebant enim irrecuperabile fore damum, si ea perrirent per oblivionem, quae posteris esse posterant ad aedificationem'*, Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider (5 vols) (Turnhout, 2009), Vol 1, p. 202.

52 of the chapters are *sententiae* rather than stories, further emphasising the collections' function as a didactic tool.[174] As with the earlier collections, the *DM* illustrates points of doctrine and morality, through examples of the dangers of sin and the inevitable punishment in the afterlife.

The *DM* was popular; it is preserved in 60 complete or abbreviated Latin manuscripts, in several books of *excerpta* and in 9 manuscripts in vernacular.[175] The earliest extant catalogues from Clairvaux mention two manuscripts of the *DM*, both from the fifteenth century,[176] but two thirteenth-century, partial copies from Clairvaux also survive.[177] Stories from the *DM* were also included in later works; Alberic de Trois-Fontaines used the *DM* and the *LVMC* and other works of Cistercian hagiography to compose his universal chronicle.[178] The enduring influence of the *DM* and the effectiveness of Caesarius' structure are demonstrated by several fifteenth-century manuscripts produced at Clairvaux.[179] Caesarius' work was also popular outside the order. The *DM* was reused and modified by Dominicans, Franciscans, Regular Canons and Jesuits.[180] A comprehensive study of the dissemination and circulation of these manuscripts, however, is yet to be completed.[181]

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[174] These chapters will be discussed below in section on eucharistic miracle stories.
[175] Le Groupe d'Anthropologie Historique de l'Occident Médiéval, *Césaire de Heisterbach En Ligne*, http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?721, [21/06/18].
[176] Mss. Troyes, BM 592, BM 641.
[177] These are included in the composite manuscript, originally from Clairvaux and now in Florence, Laurenziana, Fondo Ashburnham, 1906. S. Mula, 'Exempla and Historiography. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines's Reading of Caesarius's Dialogus Miraculorum', In *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles and Its Reception*, (Leiden, 2015), pp. 143-162, pp. 146-7.
[178] Mula, 'Exempla and Historiography', pp. 143-162.
[179] *The Dialogues with the Novice about recent miracles for the instruction of monks*, *Dialogi as novicium de modernis miraculis ad edificationem claustralium,* MS Dijon, BM, 592, and *Dialogues for the instruction of monks, Dialogi ad edificationem claustralium*, MS Dijon, BM, 641, both suggest that the style of the DM was influential.
[180] M. A. Polo de Beaulieu, V. Smirnova and J. Berlioz, 'Introduction' in *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion*, pp. 1-30, p. 15. These were; Dominicans (Arnold of Liège, Johannes Gobi), Franciscans (Johannes Pauli, the author of *Schimpf und Ernst*), Regular Canons (Johannes Busch, presumed author of the *Speculum exemplorum*) and Jesuits (such as John Major, author of the *Magnum speculum exemplorum*).
[181] Ibid, p. 15.

McGuire has explored the sources mentioned in the *DM*. Approximately a third of the stories in the *DM* have no stated source. Of this group, a third contain no concrete details, for another third Caesarius suggests he has forgotten the provenance, and for the final third he is keeping the details secret to protect his source. The other two thirds of the 746 chapters have a stated source. McGuire suggests that 25% are connected to Himmerod or other Cistercian houses, 8% regular canons or priests, 4% from lay people, and 4.5% from monks or nuns of other orders.[182] Around a quarter of all the chapters in the *DM* are related to Heisterbach, emphasizing that despite the introduction of more stories from the secular world, the focus remained within the order.

The opening of the first distinction comes from the *EC*, edited to form a continuous narrative 'more appropriate for the ears of untrained novices.'[183] Throughout this distinction Caesarius maintained a polite tone towards Molesme, in contrast to the anger apparent in the *EM.* This change in tone is due to the different audiences the collections sought. Caesarius explicitly addressed the novices within the monastery, while, as noted above, Conrad was concerned by the criticism of the order by its detractors. While there are stories that also appear in the *EM*, the level of extra detail included in the *DM* suggests that Caesarius had access to another written source, or an oral tradition.[184] In 1952 Griesser demonstrated that 17 chapters in *DM* came from the Himmerod miracle collection; as the surviving manuscript of this work is incomplete, it is possible that the debt may be greater.[185]

[182] McGuire, 'Friends and tales in the cloister' p. 244.
[183] B. P. McGuire 'Written Sources and Cistercian inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach', *Analecta Cisterciensia,* 35 (1979), pp. 227-282, p. 230.
[184] McGuire 'Written Sources', p. 233.
[185] Ibid., p. 241, citing B. Griesser, 'Ein Himmeroder Liber miraculorum und seine Beziehungen zu Caesarius von Heisterbach', *Archiv fur mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 4 (1952) pp. 257-274, p. 262.

Caesarius indicates that 450 of the stories in the *DM* originated in an oral tradition, and the networks in which he gathered stories are evident.[186] He dedicated his collection to Abbot Henry of Heisterbach and Abbot Herman of Marienstatt, and relayed stories from both.[187] He also mentions sources by name, such as the monk Adam of Loccum. Adam visited Heisterbach and passed on stories relating to the Virgin. Loccum's position as a German house in the Morimond line demonstrates a wider tradition of Marian devotion within the Order.[188] The *DM* also shares themes with the contemporary hagiography being produced in Villers, a Claravellian house in Belgium whose hagiography was discussed in Chapter Three. These sources prioritise spiritual experience, visions, temptations, and victory over the devil.[189] Caesarius also highlights his use of non-Cistercian informants. In 12.53 a Benedictine monk is the source of the vision confirming the prominence of Cistercians in heaven.[190] The fact that the vision originated outside of the order serves to make the lesson more powerful. The special favour shown by the Virgin towards the Cistercians in heaven would at once be reassuring for the novices hearing the story wary about committing to a harsh way of life, and demonstrated external recognition of Cistercian distinctiveness.

The twelve books of the *DM* are organised according to theme, and sacred objects appear throughout the collection.[191] These are miraculous corporeal and contact relics, sacred images, and the eucharist. Relics appear in the *DM* in three broad categories; relics that perform miracles in Cistercian contexts, Cistercian relics that are effective outside the cloister, and relics

[186] McGuire, 'Friends and tales in the cloister', p. 167.
[187] Ibid., p. 171
[188] Ibid., p. 228.
[189] Ibid., p. 217.
[190] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 12.53. *'De converso qui dixit Cisterciensem ordinem maximam habere' gloriam in coelo* […] *Praemium illorum maximum est, et lucent sicut sol in regno coelorum. Haec mihi relata sunt a quodam Abbate nigri ordinis*. […]', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 5, p. 2300.
[191] The themes are: Conversion, Contrition, Confession, Temptation, Demons, Singleness of Heart, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Diverse Visions, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, Miracles, the Dying, and the Punishment and Glory of the Dead.

controlled by secular clergy. It was expected that the novice could learn from stories in each category. The rest of this section will consider relics in these different contexts to argue that while the *DM* draws stories from a wider source base than the *LVMC* and *EM*, the core themes remained the same. It will then move on to consider the deployment of eucharistic miracles in Book 9 of the *DM,* to argue that it represents the culmination of a developing Cistercian exempla tradition. It will be demonstrated that similar concerns exercised Cistercian authors writing exempla, hagiography, letters, and statutes.

Caesarius includes many details about the role of relics in Cistercian devotional practice, especially at Heisterbach. The relics at Heisterbach emphasise the importance of connections with members of the local aristocracy, and the role of the Fourth Crusade, in the acquisition of such objects. The tooth of St John the Baptist for example, was given to Heisterbach by Henry of Ulm following the sack of Constantinople in 1204, at the urging of his sister, abbess of St Nicholas on the Island. When carrying the relic the prior 'escaped imminent danger on the river Rhine', and the tooth was also noted as being 'powerful in curing sickness.'[192] Heisterbach also possessed a piece of the True Cross that had come from southern Italy, a piece of the cross stolen from Hagia Sophia, and two relics from the shrine of St Katherine in Sinai.[193] These were a piece of bone stolen by abbot Henry of Cheminon, a French abbey in Clairvaux's line, and a flask of the oil that flowed from the relics.[194] Caesarius also mentioned oil from the Syrian shrine of Our Lady of Saydnaya. This oil had been brought to the abbey by one of 'the

[192] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 2.18, *'De contrita oratione conventus de Hemmenrode, quae tempore schismatis cor Frederici Imperatoris mutavit'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1, pp. 432-6.
[193] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 4.30 *'De tentationibus et visionibus Christiani monachi Vallis sancti Petri'*
[194] W. Purkis 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum'*, *Journal of Medieval History*, 39 (2013) pp. 100-27, pp. 123-4, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 8.84. *'Retulit nobis dominus Henricus Abbas de Scimenu, quod de osse eius dum nobis de eodem particulam frangeret, gutta olei erupit. Quam ne super terram caderet, vix retinuit. Sed quid dicam de gutta, cum eius sacra tumba, sicut hi qui in instanti de Syna venerunt testantur, oleo sit repleta? Viderunt enim caput eius cum capillis et ossibus natare in oleo. De quo cum a monachis loci diversa vascula sacri liquoris reciperent, tam nobis quam ceteris religiosis revertentes eadem pro benedictione diviserunt. […]'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1700-2.

innumerable witnesses who have come directly from that place and have distributed to us and to other monasteries the oil which had been taken from the sacred image under their own eyes.'[195]

The reception of these sacred objects reinforced relationships with the individuals that brought them, and spurred interest in miracle stories related to the crusade in the cloister.[196] At first glance this appears to jar with the ideas expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux, discussed in Chapter One. These relics were connected to distracting, worldly events, and besides, Cistercian monks were supposed to be more spiritually discerning, not requiring relics to spur devotion. The context in which these stories are relayed are therefore important. In including stories related to these objects in a collection intended for novices, new Cistercians who had yet to progress far on the ladder of perfection, Caesarius provided a connection to types of people they may have known and places they might have visited prior to their monastic conversion. Cistercians did not generally accept child oblates, therefore novices may have had a range of experiences prior to conversion.

Caesarius was also interested in relics owned by other Cistercian houses and emphasised the special devotion to the saints whose relics were in close proximity. A monk at Loccum experienced a vision of Christ, the Virgin, and 'a great company of saints, especially those whose relics were contained in the church'.[197] These saints are not named, but the inclusion of

[195] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 7.24, '*Considera yconam eius in Sardanay, quae in carnem versa oleum sine cessatione stillat. Huius rei testes innumerabiles sunt, qui de eodem loco in instanti venientes, oleum quod in oculis ipsorum de eadem sacra imagine receptum est, tam nobis quam ceteris religiosis distribuerunt. In quibusdam vero ampullis te teste idem oleum incipit incarnari'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 1368-74, at p. 1374. For more on this cult see Bernard Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya: an Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, (ed.) R.N. Swanson. Studies in Church History 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), 207–15.

[196] For a detailed discussion of the role of crusading exempla in the *DM* see Purkis 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum'*, pp. 100-27.

[197] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 7.19 **'***[...] In quo Dei filium Salvatorem nostrum cum matre beatissima contemplatus est, et circa ipsos ex omni parte multitudinem sanctorum, illorum maxime, quorum in ecclesia reliquiae continebantur. [...]*', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 1344-6, at p. 1344.

this detail suggests that devotion to specific relics was encouraged and appreciated. This account highlights the importance of the Virgin in Cistercian devotional practice, but also includes the saints whose relics the abbey possessed in the vision. The story is also an example of how a vision that occurred in a different house was transmitted to Caesarius at Heisterbach.

The *DM* mentions miraculous images in Cistercian contexts, demonstrating a broader understanding of sacred matter than Herbert or Conrad. In 7.46 Caesarius related a story he had heard from the prior of the convent in Essen.[198] The candle placed in front of an image of the Virgin and child was relit when the church was empty, and the wax was not consumed. Then, when a lay brother was standing at the mass, he saw the child in the image stand and take his mother's crown, before placing it on his own head. When the gospel was over, the child stood again and returned the crown. The lay brother saw this vision on the feast of St Andrew and then again at the feast of St Nicholas, before speaking to the prior. In this story the presence of the saints and points of doctrine are demonstrated in their images. The monk in the *DM* explains to the novice that the child had taken the crown at the beginning of the reading 'when by the sacrament of the incarnation, he united flesh taken from the Virgin to His own divinity', and replaced it at the words 'and was made man'.[199] Throughout the *DM* Caesarius was careful to include more extensive commentary and explanation than his predecessors, indicating his intention that the collection be used as a teaching tool.

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[198] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 7.46. *'De imagine sanctae Mariae in Yesse'*

[199] *MONACHUS: Dyadema regium videtur hoc loco signare carnem Virginis gloriosam, quam de semine traxit regio. Christus vero coronam maternam capiti proprio imposuit, cum per sacramentum incarnations carnem de Virgine sumptam suae divinitati univit. Unde ad considerationem tanti mysterii Spiritus sanctus nos invitans, dicit in Canticis Canticorum : Egredimini filiae Jerusalem, et videte Regem Salomonem, id est Christum verum pacificum, in dyademate, hoc est in carne humana, quo coronavit eum mater sua, Virgo Maria, in die desponsationis eius, quando angelo nunciante, in eius utero coelestes celebratae sunt nuptiae inter naturam divinam et humanam. Per hoc autem quod ad illa verba: Et homo factus est, coronam materno capiti reposuit, dicere videbatur : Mater, sicut ego per te particeps factus sum humanae substantiae, sic tu per me particeps fada es naturae divinae. Christi enim, qui Deus est et homo, corpus sumus et membra. Haec de perfectorum consolatione dicta sint per sacram eius imaginem. Audi nunc aliud genus consolationis, de hoc quod in exordio huius distinctionis dictum est, apud ipsam esse electuaria confortativa'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 1460-6, at p. 1464.

In another story Caesarius provided evidence of the personal devotion of individual Cistercians. In 11.26 the remains of a Cistercian abbot who perished in a fire were found along with a small box of relics he had worn around his neck.[200] The discrete way in which he had carried out his personal devotion were praised, as singularity would have been a sin of pride. Caesarius does not state (and perhaps did not himself know) which saint(s) this box of relics contained, but it is probable that it was a saint of personal significance for the abbot. This small object was intended for private devotion, activated through sight, touch, or movement. Portable and worn every day, the box likely possessed emotional and memorial qualities for the abbot.

The abbot had been called to advise the duke of Bavaria and so was staying in a barn outside of the monastery. Caesarius relates that the lamp fell and set the straw alight,[201] and the abbot, unable to escape, threw himself to the ground in the shape of the cross and prayed.[202] When his body was discovered the duke and his men noted the relics, and an iron chain around the corpse's stomach.[203] The abbot was buried in Ratisbon. A few days later a soldier stood on the tomb, only to find his feet starting to heat up.[204] Casarius concludes by stating the abbot was from then on held in 'great veneration' (*magna veneratione*) but does not state that the abbot was believed to be a saint or record further miracles beyond that which secured the relics recognition. There is no suggestion that liturgical veneration developed.

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[200] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 11.26 *'De Abbate qui in Bauwaria incendio suffocatus, post mortem miracula fecit'*

[201] '*Qui cum dicto completorio isset cubitum, lumen quod a converso posti fuerat infixum, in stramen cecidit, et in flammas profecit*.', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 5, pp. 2110-2, at p. 2110.

[202] Ibid., 11.26 '*A quibus Abbas excitatus, cum ostium exire non posset, in modem crucis se in terram prosternens, exitum suum Domino commendavit'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 5, p. 2110.

[203] Ibid., '*Dux compunctus dicebat: Videte quod sancto isti viro vestimentorum asperitas sufficere non poterat, nisi etiam cathenam superadderet'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 5, p. 2110.

[204] Ibid., '*Post dies paucos cum duo milites in eodem loco missam audirent, unus sepulchrum eius ascendit. Ut autem Deus ostenderet qualis esset meriti illic tumulatus, miles tam vehementer in pedibus ardere coepit, ut desiliens clamaret. Quo comperto alter respondit : Sepulchrum est illius combusti Abbatis.'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 5, p. 2110.

In contrast, in 1.35 Caesarius was explicit in his description of a monk's remains being relics. Describing the conversion of Godfrey the monk of Villers and his subsequent visions, at several points Godfrey's saintliness is emphasised.[205] Caesarius states Godfrey's strict observances of life within the Order impressed God, and this was demonstrated 'even to this day through his relics' (*per sacras eius reliquias usque hodie Dominus non cessat ostendere*).[206] The bones were 'preserved as relics' (*reservanturque pro reliquiis*), indicating a progression from the respect shown in the *EM*, towards explicit veneration.[207] Godfrey was described as an ideal Cistercian monk, humble, obedient, and devoted to the Virgin. He was thus an imitable model for Caesarius' novices, learning to be good Cistercians. Venerating such deceased members of the community fits into the idea of community that existed between the living and dead described in the exempla collections.

The novice master's explanations also elucidate Caesarius' opinions on the proper treatment of relics. In 8.60 the folly in attempting to divide a relic was evident when the tooth of St Bartholomew bled when the parties discussed its division.[208] When a priest discovered the recluse for whom he said masses possessed the tooth, he asked for half of the relic. Caesarius stated 'as soon as the priest held a knife over the tooth, blood gushed forth from it drop by drop, as if the saint were suffering pain afresh'.[209] In the second instance, the arm of St John the Baptist is relocated to a more appropriate setting.[210] The story relates that while travelling a merchant discovered the arm of St John in a hospital dedicated to him 'across the sea', the

[205] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 1.35 *'De conversione Godefridi monachi Vilariensis, et de revelationibus eius'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1, pp. 306-13.
[206] Ibid., 1.35, '*Qui quantae fuerit religiositatis, quantae sanetitatis, quam fervens in ordine, per sacras eius reliquias usque hodie Dominus non cessat ostendere'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1, p. 308.
[207] Ibid., '*Nuper per revelationem levata sunt ossa eius et in sacrario posita, reservanturque pro reliquiis'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1, pp. 310-12.
[208] Ibid., 8.60, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1648.
[209] Ibid., 8.60, '*Illa vero dentem multum diligens, et sacerdote carere nolens, ut divideretur consensit, licet invitissime. Mira res. Mox enim ut sacerdos cultellum denti superposuit, ac si denuo sanctus pateretur, guttatim de illo sanguis erupit*', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1648.
[210] Ibid., 8.53 (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1626-30.

Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.[211] He obtained the arm (via a harlot whom he bribed to seduce the guardian), and brought it back to Groningen. There he built a house and placed the relic in one of the pillars. The safety of his house after a fire aroused suspicion. The merchant hid the relic with a recluse, who gave it to the townspeople. When the citizens learned of the identity of the saint 'they made a silver gilt receptacle in the shape of an arm, and adorned it with precious stones, and therein they placed the relics'.[212]

In the conversation following the story, the novice asked why John did not perform any miracles during his life. The monk answered, 'in order that the Lord might show that saint-ship does not consist in miracles but in holiness of life'.[213] This response fits with other twelfth-century Cistercian writing on the primacy of a virtuous life in validating sanctity.[214] Bernard of Clairvaux's own writing often emphasised the importance of humility and obedience. In his letters and hagiography, he highlighted the imitable traits of his subjects' virtuous lives. Bernard instituted an official cult for St Malachy; switching vestments with the dead man, and writing two offices and a *vita*.[215] Bernard saw Malachy as an exemplary bishop due to his personal virtue, and he intended the cult to serve as an inspiration for the community, rather than become a source of public pilgrimage. To this end, the compatibility of monastic virtues and an active life in the church were emphasised.[216]

More so than in the previous collections, Caesarius described the efficacy of certain Cistercian relics outside of the cloister. This does not, however, distract from the focus on

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[211] '*terrae nostrae mare transiens'*

[212] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 8.53 '*Quod ubi compertum est civibus, thecam argenteam et deauratam, gemmisque pretiosis ornatam, ad similitudinem brachii fecerunt, in ea reliquias reponentes.'*

[213] Ibid., 8.53 '*NOVICIUS : Cum sancto Johanne sanctorum nemo credatur esse maior, quid est quod nullum signum legitur in vita sua fecisse ? MONACHUS : Ut Dominus ostenderet sanctitatem non consistere in signis, sed in bona vita',* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1628-30.

[214] See Chapter One for Bernard of Clairvaux's writing on the place of miracles.

[215] See Chapter One, Section 3.2.

[216] Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult, and Construction', p. 62.

Cistercian miracle recipients in the collection. The restricted access to relics described in both Herbert and Conrad's collections is evident, though lay people were apparently allowed to benefit from relics in particular instances. Then the relic was taken to the laity, the laity were not necessarily permitted to enter the church to venerate the relic.

In instances where the relics could travel outside of the cloister, the relics in question appear to have been contact relics. 7.38 relates the *vita* of Walter of Birbech, a knight who later made his profession at Hemmerode and was known for his devotion to Mary. After his death his boots were requested by his friend, Winemar of Aldindorp, who was suffering from paralysis. After receiving his cure, Winemar built a chapel in his castle, and 'enclosed the same shoes in a wooden altar in the presence of our [Heisterbach's] abbot'.[217] The gift of these relics was possible due to the connection between Walter and Winemar, and the continued contact between Winemar and the order. This story may have been popular due to its strong conversion theme, and the description of aristocratic life which would have been familiar to the novices listening. In a related manner to the relics gifted by Henry of Ulm, the connections between the abbey and its lay patrons were memorialised through objects.

Specific lay people were able to benefit from these Cistercian relics; it is worth pausing to consider the circumstances that made this possible. It is important to note that the relics that left the cloister were contact relics, not the bones of a saint. Winemar received Walter's boots due to his friendship with the knight-turned-monk, and he demonstrated to the abbot that he would treat the relics with the appropriate respect. In addition, should Winemar decide to allow access to these relics in his chapel, this would not have inconvenienced the community at

[217] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 7.38 **'***Eadem vero calciamenta ob amorem beati viri, et concessum sibi per illa beneficium, in tantum venerabatur, ut in castro suo capellam aedificaret, atque eosdem coturnos eius altario ligneo, Abbate nostro praesente, includeret*.' (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 1416-38.

Heisterbach.[218] Caesarius was able to use this story to demonstrate the benefits of conversion to the monastic life to his novices, some of whom would have had a similar background to Walter, and may have been struggling in their adjustment to Cistercian life.

The *DM* also includes accounts that indicate how the use of relics by other communities was perceived. In the story of the use of a tooth of St Nicholas in a fundraising relic tour by the Benedictine community at Brauweiler, Caesarius related the judgement that followed dishonesty.[219] In their attempt to raise funds for the extension of their church, the monks of Brauweiler had employed 'certain secular priests, who were eloquent speakers, and skilful in getting money'. One day when the preachers were behaving dishonestly, the crystal surrounding the relic cracked 'as if the most reverend Pontiff could not endure their blasphemies'.[220] The monks saw the miracle, took the tooth back to the monastery, and did not undertake a relic tour again. The disapproval of blasphemous secular priests cannot be separated from that of the monks who used their relic for fundraising purposes, an action prohibited in the Cistercian statutes.[221] These sources together provide the regulations of the order and a memorable moral tale to encourage appropriate behaviour. The prohibition of relic tours will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Caesarius stated, 'I have also inserted stories of a great number of things that happened outside the Order, because they were edifying.'[222] This broader focus can be contrasted with the

[218] A similar situation was described in Chapter Two, with regards relics of St Francis' stigmata, controlled by the town of Montauto.
[219] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 8.68 '*De dente sancti Nycholai in Bruwilre'.* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1664-6, at p. 1664.
[220] Ibid., 8.68, *'Die quadam cum praedicatores illi conducticii inhoneste se gerendo vas tantarum reliquiarum circumferrent, cristallus crepuit, ac si illorum blasphemias Pontifex reverendissimus sustinere non posset'*
[221] C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter. Latin text with English Notes and Commentary*. (*Studia et Documenta* 12. *Cistercian: Commentarii Cistercienses*. Kalamazoo, MI, 2002), 1195, S. 74, p. 344. Similar sentiments were expressed by Guibert of Nogent, see Chapter 1 for a fuller discussion.
[222] Caesarius if Heisterbach, *DM* Prologue, '*plurima etiam inservi quae extra ordinem contigerunt, eo quod essent aedificatoria, et a viris religiosis, sicut et reliqua, mihi recitata'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1, p. 202.

concentration on Clairvaux and Cîteaux in the *LVMC* and *EM*. In these collections most visions occurred in the monastic choir, where the monks battled to stay awake, or the dormitory, where they dreamed of demons. There are casual references to the sermons given in the chapter house, dangers of gluttony in the refectory, and lax discipline in the infirmary. In the fifth and sixth books of the *EM* attention turned to the secular world, as Conrad described priests and knights.

While the *DM* is the most inclusive of the three collections in terms of the range of miracle recipients included, the attitude towards the problems posed by interactions with the laity is consistent. In the *EM* the distraction created by crowds of pilgrims is highlighted by the reaction of the abbot of Cîteaux at Bernard's funeral. In *DM* 10.5 the healing miracles performed by a living lay brother were commanded to stop, due to the disturbance crowds of pilgrims would bring to the monastery.[223] Caesarius related 'the abbot, seeing the quiet of the brothers disturbed by the crowds and the house not a little burdened by the expense, ordered that brother in future not to lay his hands on any seculars'.[224] Caesarius implied this decision was approved of by God, as 'from that hour the power in him to work miracles came to an end'.[225] This story reinforces the problems posed by lay pilgrims, and the importance isolation from such disruption played in Cistercian identity.

McGuire noted the collection starts 'with secular adventure and end[s] with high theology and moral edification.'[226] While the interest in a broader range of stories may reflect Caesarius' early life in Cologne and networks within the order, the inclusion of a wider range of miracle recipients and sources may also reflect a deliberate decision to help novices work towards a

[223] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 10.5 vol 2, *'De converso Eberbacensi cuius tactu infirmi sanabantur',* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1904.
[224] Ibid., 10.5, *'Ex quorum concursu videns Abbas fratrum quietem turbari et domum in expensis non modicum gravari, eidem converso ne alicui saeculari de cetero manus imponeret praecepit.'*
[225] Ibid., 10.5, '*Et cessavit ex illa hora in eo virtus miraculorum'.*
[226] McGuire, 'Written Sources', p. 243.

deeper spiritual understanding from a context they would recognise. In the inclusion of exempla from outside the cloister, Caesarius expected Cistercian novices to identify morals that they could implement in the monastery. The miracles included an exorcism performed on a girl using relics of the Passion,[227] the use of water as a contact relic,[228] and the discovery of the 11,000 virgins in Cologne.[229] More interestingly, 6.33 and 6.34 describe the signs that emanated from neglected tombs, prompting the translation of the remains inside.[230] These stories suggest Caesarius intended to teach his novices about both the signs of sanctity, and the appropriate veneration for sacred remains. A similar motive may have underlain the story in 11.26, discussed above.

The chapter that relates the vision of a crucifix in the Holy Sepulchre bowing to a passing crusader may have been included because the recipient of the miracle was of a type that Cistercians would have been interested in.[231] The story also taught that the crusader received this miracle in recognition for an act of mercy. This is contrasted with a later story, in which the individual is punished for showing contempt towards images of the Passion.[232] Caesarius' interest in exempla set in crusading contexts often demonstrated the importance of contrition and regular confession; themes prominent in Cistercian exempla collections since their inception. The life-changing potential of the experience of crusade enabled participation to be presented as a conversion experience, another important topic in Cistercian exempla.

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[227] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 5.14 *'De obsessa, quae in Insula sancti Nycholai prodidit reliquias'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 998-1000.
[228] Ibid., 8.65 '*De revelatione martyris nostri'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1658.
[229] Ibid., 8.86-87 *'Item de duabus virginibus undecim millium, quae per revelationem sunt inventae et nobis donatae', 'De Viatore qui de earum reliquiis miraculose obtinuit'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 1708-12.
[230] Ibid., 6.33-34 *'De passione simplicis Marcadelli', 'De passione Margaretae virginis Lovaniensis*', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 3, pp. 1258-66.
[231] Ibid., 8.21 *'De milite cui crux inclinavit, quia inimico suo pepercerat ob illius amorem*', (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1554-6.
[232] Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory', p. 104. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 8.27, *'De vindicta Dei in Damiatanos qui fune crucifixum traxerunt'*

The organisation of the *DM* allowed Caesarius to devote an entire book to the 'Body and Blood of Christ'. This collection of 67 chapters relating to the mass and eucharistic miracles reveals the development of Cistercian thought from the twelfth to the early-thirteenth century. While the role of visions to reaffirm faith or remove doubt would be familiar to readers of the *LVMC* or *EM,* there are new efforts to demonstrate the power of the sacrament. Several communicants are healed by the ritual, and animals are described as respecting the eucharist. There are also many miracles used to explain the judgement that would follow an unworthy priest or recipient. While largely following the typology of eucharistic miracles described above, provided by Rubin but nuanced to better highlight the complexity of the Cistercian collections, the *DM* demonstrates the need to problematise this model further.

The first category suggested by Rubin, 'a vision […] as a reward for faith and piety or such revelations used to counter trivial doubt',[233] can describe 30 out of the 67 chapters in Book 9.[234] This suggests a range of sub-categories would help clarify the themes and lessons present. Divisions could be made on the basis of the content of the vision or sensation; did the visionary see the child on the altar,[235] or blood in the chalice?[236] Distinctions could be made based on the reason for the vision; as a reward for faith and virtue,[237] or to remove doubt in the sacrament?[238] The most interesting lessons, however, appear when the background of the visionary is considered.

[233] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 118.
[234] See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 65, 67.
[235] For example, *DM* 9.2, 9.3, 9.4,
[236] For example, *DM* 9.17, 9.18, 9.19, 9.21, 9.22.
[237] For example, *DM* 9.4, 9.17, 9.28, 9.29. 9.30, 9.31.
[238] For example, *DM* 9.3, 9.5, 9.19, 9.21, 9.22. For further background on the transformation of the eucharist into visible flesh or blood, see C. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, NY, 1992).

In this group of visions connected to the eucharist, specific experiences appear to be connected to religious lay women, nuns, and Cistercian lay brothers. These experiences often relate to their more marginal existence in the order, describing their desire to participate in communion, and the visions they received as consolation. Food played a central role in female eucharistic devotion. Bynum has argued the verb *to eat* was powerful, taken to mean 'to consume, to assimilate, to become God'; eating God in the form of the host could create a 'sweet tasting that focused and transcended all hunger'.[239] In the *DM* nuns are often described as tasting sweetness when taking communion, to the extent that one woman was said to live on the 'body of Christ alone'.[240] In 9.39, a nun told Casesarius that 'whenever she makes her communion, she tastes as much sweetness in the sacred body, as if she had tasted honey.'[241] In the following chapter a Cistercian abbess was said to perceive 'between her teeth no solidity of bread nor the flavour of bread, but the sacrament itself like a honeycomb passed through her throat without any chewing, so that she was inwardly filled with wonderful sweetness' whenever she received the eucharist.[242] This sweet taste was the physical manifestation of a spiritual state in which God's presence could be felt. The nuns' senses allowed them to commune with the divine through bodily experience.[243]

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[239] C. Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, CA, 1987) pp. 3-4.
[240] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 9.47.
[241] Ibid., 9.39,*'Novi quandam sanctimonialem ordinis nostri, quae illam a Domino accepit gratiam, ut quando communicat tantam ex ipso sacro corpore dulcedinem sentiat, ac si mel receperit. Non saporem panis, sed mellis ut dixi in masticatione sentit tota illa die, maxime ante perceptionem cibi corporalis, salivam habens mellifluam'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1828.
[242] Ibid., 9.40, '*Haec quotienscunque corpus Domini a sacerdote suscepit, non panis soliditatem inter dentes, neque panis saporem intra fauces sentit, sed ipsum sacramentum quasi favus mellis sine masticatione per guttur eius in ventrem defluxit, sic ut mira suavitate omnia eius interiora replerentur'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1830-4, at p. 1830.
[243] For further discussion of sensory history, see M. Bagnoli (ed.*) A Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe* (Yale, NH, 2017) and R. Macdonald, E. K. M. Murphy, and E. L. Swann (eds.) *Sensing the Sacred in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (London, 2018).

In chapters 37, 45, and 46, lay brothers at Livonia and Marienfield, and a lay woman, were refused communion. In the case of the lay woman, despite not receiving the eucharist from the priest, she reported smelling and tasting sweetness, assuming that Christ had rewarded her devotion.[244] The lay brother in Livonia reported finding the host in his mouth,[245] the brother at Marienfield received the gift of prophecy, and was able to 'see' the service.[246] These incidents served to help reassure these groups of their place in the Order, and reward their devotion to the sacrament. Reception of the eucharist was important for Cistercian devotional practice, and by the late twelfth century the lay brothers were resisting at their restricted engagement. In the aftermath of the lay brother revolts, Cistercian literature sought to encourage them to persist in their work.[247] Stories in which lay brothers were in some way able to participate in the service while on the granges thus fit alongside the accounts in thirteenth-century hagiography produced at Villers. In these texts illiterate lay brothers were able to recite the liturgy, or saw the Virgin helping in the fields.[248] Taken together, the hagiography and exempla collections present a version of Cistercian devotional life in which lay brothers were able to participate, even while absent.

Visions are also the main type of miracle associated with group three in Rubin's typology for eucharistic miracles; 'the appearance of eucharistic properties […] to a knowing abuser […] and the ensuing punishment'.[249] This group of stories demonstrates what Caesarius felt made priests or recipients unworthy to participate in the sacrament, and the appropriate punishment.

[244] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 9.46.
[245] Ibid., 9.37.
[246] Ibid., 9.45.
[247] For further reading on the lay brother revolts, see J. France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120-1350* (Collegeville, MN, 2012) and B. Noell, 'Expectation and unrest among Cistercian lay brothers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006) pp. 253-274.
[248] For further discussion of the hagiography from Villers, see Chapter Three.
[249] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* p. 118.

Ten chapters are concerned with problematic priests, who were licentious,[250] negligent,[251] or unordained.[252] These men found blood or flesh in the chalice or had their hands devoured by fire.[253] A Premonstratensian had a vision of the crucified Christ weeping over him, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in penance.[254] Others, including a priest in Hademare and a lay brother at Hemmenrode, were seen to be chewing coals in place of the host, while a lay brother who had kept five brass shillings was unable to eat the host at all.[255] These visible manifestations of unconfessed sin culminate in the story of an altar cloth that revealed blood spots after being touched by a pregnant nun.[256]

This group of stories demonstrates what Caesarius felt made priests or recipients unworthy to participate in the sacrament, and the appropriate punishment. The growing lay piety that supported these eucharistic miracles developed as the rite moved away from a communal meal towards a less visible and participatory event. Changes in the performance of the priest and the role of the community 'led to and framed such miracles'.[257] The definition of eucharistic presence pronounced at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 was a result of both earlier controversy and popular belief.[258] The visions are notable due to their number, and the considerable interest Caesarius shows in such miracles compared to his predecessors. This may be because the *DM* contains more stories than either the *LVMC* or *EM*, or because the *DM* contains more stories related to lay people or secular clergy than the earlier texts. In

[250] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 9.6, 9.58.
[251] Ibid., 9.23, 9.59.
[252] Ibid., 9.60, 9.61.
[253] Ibid., 9.23, 9.59, 9.60
[254] Ibid., 9.61.
[255] Ibid., 9.54.
[256] Ibid., 9.66.
[257] C. Bynum, 'The Animation and Agency of Holy Food: Bread and Wine as Material Divine in the European Middle Ages', *in The Materiality of Divine Agency*, (eds.) by B. Pongratz-Leisten and K. Sonik (Boston, MA, 2015), pp. 70-85, p. 77.
[258] For a discussion surrounding the controversy in the eleventh century, see C. M. Radding and F. Newton (eds.) *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours (*Columbia, NY, 2003).

this case, Caesarius may be implying that people with a lower level of spiritual development needed visible assurance, in a similar manner to Bernard of Clairvaux when he undertook to elucidate spiritual places for the laity.[259] Herbert of Clairvaux and Conrad of Eberbach, focused on miracles occurring in the Cistercian milieu, did not need to clarify the distinction between the spiritual and material transformation of the eucharist in the same manner as Caesarius.

In several stories the moral is that even animals or natural elements can recognise the importance of the sacrament. This group fits into Rubin's second category, 'some unusual behaviour of natural elements, animals or humans, arising from awe of the eucharist or from sheer proximity to it'.[260] This includes oxen that stopped ploughing when they came across a pyx that had been left in a field,[261] bees that built a shrine for the host left in their aviary,[262] a fly that died after hovering over the chalice at consecration,[263] and mice that ate the edges of unconsecrated wafers but not the sacred monogram.[264] As with the accusatory visions discussed above, their inclusion is likely due to the increased opportunity Caesarius had to include stories related to the secular world.

In the fourth group of Eucharistic miracles, the *DM* includes two stories that relate the discovery of incorrupt hosts or treatment of blood as a relic. Such stories are less prevalent in the *DM* than the *LVMC*; as was noted in the first section of this chapter, Herbert discussed more miraculous hosts than corporeal relics. Nonetheless, the account in 9.16 would have appealed to him.[265] A church in the province of Heisterbach was burnt down. When men went into the remains of the building, the only object to survive was 'the pyx with Christ's body on the

[259] See Chapter One.
[260] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* p. 118.
[261] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 9.7.
[262] Ibid., 9.8.
[263] Ibid., 9.10.
[264] Ibid., 9.11.
[265] Ibid., 9.16 '*De ecclesia combusta et corpore Domini intacto',* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider*,* Vol 4, pp. 1778-80, at p. 1778.

altar'.[266] The event was proclaimed as a miracle, sent to strengthen the locals' faith. Caesarius does not mention what happened to the pyx following its discovery; in the *LVMC* a similar account could be expected to end with the host being kept as a relic. In the *DM,* the monk explains that the miracle demonstrated that even fire recognised 'the power of this divine sacrament'.[267] This is reminiscent of the story described above, when the arm relic of St John hidden in a pillar was protected from a fire that destroyed much of the town.

A similar incident was also used as a vehicle for the monk's explanation that God would reward devotion to the eucharist. An invalid requested that the priest wash his hands after mass, and bring him the water.[268] Believing it could cure him, the invalid drank some of the water, and placed the rest in a box, where it was later discovered to have turned to blood.[269] The novice asked for clarification as to whether this red liquid was the blood of Christ.[270] The monk responded:

> I do not think it was the blood of Christ, because water is never turned into it, nor even wine without the due benediction of a priest. But God transformed the pure elements because of the man's devotion that he might show that all the faithful everywhere may take spiritually that same blood which the priest takes daily sacramentally.[271]

As was discussed above, another category that could be added to Rubin's typology includes the use of the eucharist to perform exorcisms or healing miracles. The use of the host for explicitly apotropaic purposes does not occur in the *LVMC*, but is included in the *EM*, in a story

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[266] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* '*Cumque omnia quae cremari poterant in cinerem fuissent redacta, flammis sopitis homines intrantes solam pixidem cum corpore Christi illaesam super altare repererunt'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider Vol 4, p. 1778.
[267] '*sit virtus divini huius sacramenti'*
[268] Ibid., 9.24, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider Vol 4, p. 1792.
[269] '*Peto ut manus quibus tractastis sacrum Christi corpus et sanguinem, coram me abluatis, eritque meae infirmitati eadem ablutio antidotum'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider Vol 4, p. 1792.
[270] '*NOVICIUS: Quid sentis de sanguine isto?'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1792.
[271] '*Non credo fuisse Christi sanguinem, quia aqua in illum minime vertitur, nec vinum quidem absque debita sacerdotis benedictione. Deus vero ob devotionem hominis elementum mutavit, ut ostenderet quod eundem sanguinem quem sacerdos quotidie sumit in ecclesia[5]sacramentaliter, fidelis quisque in omni loco possit sumere spiritualiter.'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1792.

Conrad borrowed from the *VP*. Then, while travelling in Italy, Bernard used a consecrated host to perform an exorcism.[272] In one chapter of the *DM* the eucharist was not intentionally applied as a healing aid but did lead to a brief improvement in health.[273] Maurice, bishop of Paris, was ill and delirious and demanded to take communion. His friends did not want to oblige him while he was in such a condition, and so arranged with a priest to placate him with an unconsecrated wafer. Caesarius states 'as soon as the priest crossed the threshold, the bishop cried out in a clear voice 'take it away, it is not the Lord God'.[274] The priest returned with a blessed wafer (*verum Christi corpus deferens*), and the bishop regained his senses for long enough to make a confession before he died. In another story the use of the eucharist as a cure was intentional. A maid in Witten had been frightened by the devil and lost her senses.[275] A priest placed an unconsecrated wafer in her mouth, but it did no good. He then 'wetted his finger with his tongue and touched the real body of the Lord (*digito saliva madefacto corpus Domini tetigit*). And when he had placed his finger in her mouth, she recovered her senses, regained her power of speech and stood up in full health.'[276] In this incident, the priest had faith that the application of the eucharist would cure the girl. In the same manner as Bernard's exorcism, the faith of the person administering the host is paramount, and the story serves to reinforce the novices' faith in the sacrament.

[272] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM,* 6.2, p. 510.
[273] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 9.43, *'De Mauritio Episcopo Parisiensi qui in fine suo per communionem sacrum sensum recepit',* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider*,* Vol 4, 1840-2.
[274] '*Qui cum venisset cum multa reverentia, qualiter decebat Episcopum communicare, mox ut limen domus sacerdos attigit, Episcopus clara voce clamavit: Tolle tolle, non est Dominus Deus'*, (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, p. 1842.
[275] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM*, 9.50.
[276] '*Quae tam in voce quam in horrore diabolum intelligens, retrorsum cecidit, et sensum penitus amisit. Sacerdos vero hostiam quasi pro remedio mittens in os eius non benedictam, cum nihil ei prodesset, digito saliva madefacto corpus Domini tetigit. Quem cum in os misisset mulieris, mox illa sensum recepit, locuta est et sana surrexit.'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1858-60.

In addition to the miracle stories, four chapters are structured around the discussion between the monk and novice. These cover the primacy of the eucharist among the church sacraments,[277] the virtues needed by a priest,[278] what is needed to perform consecration,[279] and how the eucharist ought to be received.[280] Taken together, these chapters stress the importance of communion, the role of worthy and pure priests, and the importance of intention in the ritual and the attitude of the recipient. In 9.62 Caesarius argued 'no man ought to approach the Eucharist unless he has fulfilled the commands of the Decalogue and the teaching of the four evangelists'.[281] These explanations of the sacrament highlight the *DM* as the most explicit of the exempla collections considered in this chapter in its function as a teaching tool.

Overall, the text created by Caesarius articulates Cistercian perception about the use of relics in the 1220s and reflects the different purpose with which he was writing. As McGuire noted, the purpose of the *EM* was to defend the Order, and the Himmerod and Clairvaux books of visions focused on the spiritual life of their own monasteries. The *DM*, in contrast, aimed 'to touch upon various elements that make up monastic life, and to do so in an attractive manner.'[282] The three collections explored in this chapter display coherent themes and concerns. While in some instances direct borrowing and adaptation is evident, more often this is a result of their creation by authors of similar background, purpose and milieu.[283] It is reasonable that the common life and shared ideals of the authors would lead to the composition of new stories with similar morals. The continued creation of these collections is evidence of the vitality of the

[277] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 9.1 *'De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi. Interrogatio quid sit sacramentum, quae res sacramenti, quae causa institutionis, quae forma, quis modus conversionis vel sumptionis.'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1740-8.
[278] Ibid., 9.26 *'Qualis esse debeat vita sacerdotum'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1794-8.
[279] Ibid., 9.27 *'Quae exigantur in sacerdote, ut Christi corpus possit conficere'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1798-1802.
[280] Ibid., 9.62 *'Quomodo sacra eucharistia sumi debeat'*
[281] '*per quod ostenditur quod non debet accedere ad eucharistiam nisi qui impleverit praecepta Decalogi, et praecepta quatuor Evangeliorum'* (ed.) N. Nösges and H. Schneider, Vol 4, pp. 1880-2.
[282] McGuire, 'Written Sources,' p. 243.
[283] Ibid., p. 280.

Order into the thirteenth century, and effort expended in training novices to maintain standards and discipline. The format of the *DM* is the most explicit of the three in its didactic function, both through the dialogue between the novice and monk woven throughout and the use of the explanatory chapters to reinforce the main lessons of each distinction.

It is evident that the possession and veneration of relics formed an important aspect of Cistercian devotional practice in the early thirteenth century. In the *DM* this category has been expanded, and miracles were performed by bones, teeth, and images. The restricted access to relics described in both Herbert and Conrad's collections is evident, though lay people were apparently allowed to benefit from relics in particular instances. Then, the relic was taken to the laity, the laity were not permitted to enter the church to venerate the relic. As with the other collections, Caesarius was concerned about the appropriate modes and manners of veneration. The use of a wider source base allowed him to be more explicit about how these ideas would function outside of a Cistercian context.

Conclusion

In the collections explored here, it is evident that the Cistercian authors wished to use exempla as pedagogical tools. These collections passed the Order's attitudes onto novices, and reinforced the rules of behaviour expected of them to maintain the social distinctions between the Cistercians and other monastic groups. Exploring three collections created in the 1170s, 1190s, and 1220s, enables consideration of how the perception of the place of relics may have changed over time. For example, the *LVMC* emphasises the visions experienced by members of the Clairvaux community, and most references to relics are actually incorrupt hosts. The *EM* contains more relic-centred miracle stories, and the *DM* most of all. By the early thirteenth

century then, relics had gained a more prominent place in Cistercian devotional practice, and included body part and contact relics, and the Eucharist.

This range of exempla also allow comparison of attitudes in different houses. Clairvaux and its daughters are the most heavily represented, forming the focus of both Herbert and Conrad's collections. Caesarius gathered stories from the region around Cologne, in addition to Heisterbach's filiation. These regional influences provide evidence for Cistercian diversity and connections of monasteries with their local areas. These connections were also present in the hagiography composed for locally-venerated saints which reinterpreted their cults in a Cistercian context.

These three collections can also be compared with regards to structure and organisation. Herbert did not include a prologue or introduction outlining his aims or the structure of the text. Material seems to have been organised based on free association, thus several chapters concerning visions of the Christ child in the host are found together in chapters 19, 20, and 21 of the *LVMC.* The *EM* and *DM*, in contrast, have clearer, more deliberate, structures, and are organised into a series of books broken down by characters or theme.

Interaction with the cult of saints was an important facet of monastic interaction with the outside world. As was noted in Chapter Three with regards to twelfth-century Cistercian hagiography, the relics in these collections are evidence for the restricted access to Cistercian cults. The appearance of relics in these stories allows us to gauge the role of relics in cults intended for Cistercian communities, and their awareness of relics in cults with a primarily lay audience. In all three collections the majority of the miracle recipients are members of the Order. Conrad mentions relics venerated by the Cluniacs, and Caesarius includes relics housed in parish churches and cathedrals. This gradual widening of scope helps to illuminate Cistercian self-perception, especially in relation to other groups.

Chapter Five

'To be associated with their sacred remains': The value of intercession in Cistercian communities of the living and the dead

In 1159 the monks of Melrose Abbey were discussing the appropriate burial location for their deceased abbot. The discussion is relayed in the *vita Waldevi* from 1206. The community disagreed about the propriety of burying Waltheof in the chapter house or abbey church. Some, backed by Bishop Herbert of Glasgow, argued for the church, a mark of respect for his sanctity and a measure that would allow easier access for prospective pilgrims to the tomb. Others, including Eanfrith, abbot of Melrose's daughter-house at Newbattle, urged otherwise. Eventually Waltheof was buried in the chapter house, in the place he had indicated during his lifetime and as was customary for abbots of the Order.[1]

This episode neatly encapsulates the tensions within the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century surrounding the cult of saints and the potential implications of flourishing cults in the cloister. While the community attempted to position Waltheof as an abbot of comparable sanctity with Bernard of Clairvaux, they also had to navigate the social implications of either restricting the cult to the brethren or welcoming lay pilgrims. As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, pilgrims were often portrayed in Cistercian texts as a disruptive, distracting presence. The Order's hagiography abounds with stories that described their saints as efficacious for their members above outsiders. In exempla novices were encouraged to prize visions that were not necessarily associated with the visit to a particular tomb, or the reception

[1] G. J. McFadden, *An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness* (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952) pp. 300, 311-2.

of the eucharist, over pilgrimage to a particular saint's shrine, especially if the pilgrimage would imperil their vow of monastic stability.

In this chapter I will explore the tensions surrounding the potential cult of Waltheof of Melrose in light of the abbey's patronal considerations. The importance communities could place on their relationships with founders and patrons will be demonstrated through instances of competition for burials (for example between Melrose and Kelso in Scotland, and Cîteaux and Maizières), and the transferal of bones when a community moved site. The transfer of the founders' bones to a new site demonstrated continued commemoration. The transferal could be prompted by surviving relations, as happened at Jervaulx Abbey in Yorkshire.[2] The patronal family was still involved with their foundation and were concerned to retain the eschatological benefits of their association with the community. Such a translation could also be undertaken by the community in the absence of surviving descendants. Continued care for the memory of the founders must have been reassuring for the abbey's other patrons.

The treatment of the deceased can thus aid the examination of Cistercian attitudes towards relics by differentiating between those whose remains were, and were not, venerated. The placement of burials in relation to shrines is also suggestive of how sacred and secular matter were distinguished; developing, enforcing, and distinguishing the distinction between saints and other important burials. The competition between houses for the bones of secular founders demonstrates the importance attached to connections to patrons. The requests of lay patrons for *ad sanctos* burials indicates the external perceptions of Cistercian saints. Jamroziak asserted burials were 'one of the most important 'services' that religious communities of all types could

[2] J. Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, (York, 2006). W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum ,2nd edition*, J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Badinel (ed) (London, 1825), Volume 5, p. 568, C. T. Clay, (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Extra Series: Vol. IV The Honour of Richmond Part 1* (1935) no. 23. S. Speight, *Family, faith and fortification: Yorkshire 1066-1250* (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham 1993).

offer to lay people. They were directly linked to the commemoration and increased power of intercessory prayers of the monks'.[3] The most important results of burial *ad sanctos* were associated with Resurrection and the Last Judgement, when the individual hoped that proximity to the saint would aid them. The deceased could also benefit from the intercession of the saint on their behalf, and the prayers of pilgrims visiting the saint. The difficulty associated with securing such a prestigious burial place meant it was associated with social differentiation.[4]

Overall it will be argued that the decisions Cistercian communities made about their treatment of the remains of deceased brethren and patrons reflect their attempts to create their own communities of the sacred. Access to this community was restricted, along the same lines that were evident in the Order's hagiography and exempla collections. The treatment of respected and sacred remains, the choice of burial location and access allowed, thus aligned with the Order's attitudes to sacred objects. The depictions of miracles in Cistercian texts, for example, were part of a strategy to discourage lay pilgrimage. The locations of saintly abbots' tombs were similarly restricted. The requests for *ad sanctos* burial demonstrates the external regard for Cistercian saints, the limited number of lay burials granted ensured an aura of exclusivity and helped the community appeal to those patronising it.

1. Ad sanctos burials at Melrose Abbey

Monasteries remembered those who endowed and protected them, through the creation of cartularies and chronicles, confraternity admissions, and lay burials. They created a shared body of memory that as well as having eschatological implications, developed ties between monastic

[3] E. Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011), p. 67.
[4] E. Johnson, 'Burial *ad Sanctos'*, in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (ed.) L. J. Taylor et al, (online) [Accessed 6/11/18]. For more background on this practice and its Late Antique origins, see R. Wiśniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford, 2018).

communities and lay people. One of the most important functions of the monastery was as a mausoleum. The practices that surround death, and the choices made in how the dead are mourned and represented, can tell us about the relations between the living and the dead, and the context for the remembrance of the deceased.[5] Burial practices are useful as a lens for understanding one of the ways Cistercian monks approached and interacted with the world around them. Despite their rhetoric of isolation and lack of encouragement for pilgrimage, Cistercian houses were still reliant on patrons.

The locations of the lay burials at Melrose Abbey in Scotland demonstrate the draw of the chapter house and burial *ad sanctos*. In 1136 monks from Rievaulx founded a community at Melrose, on a site originally occupied by St Aidan and St Cuthbert in the seventh century. The community was endowed by its founder King David (c.1085-1153, r.1124-1153) and succeeding sovereigns, in addition to local benefactors. Melrose was the site of the thriving cult of St Waltheof, and the instigator of a number of lay burials. Waltheof, born around 1095, was the son of Simon I of St Liz, first Earl of Northampton, and Maud, second Countess of Huntington. He was the stepson of David I of Scotland. He began his career as an Augustinian canon at the priories of Nostell and Kirkham, before becoming a Cistercian monk at Rievaulx. He was elected to the abbacy of Melrose in 1148, a position he retained until his death in 1159.[6]

[5] R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane (ed.) *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London, 2005) pp. 1-6.
[6] D. Baker, 'Waldef (c.1095–1159)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28647, accessed 29 June 2016].

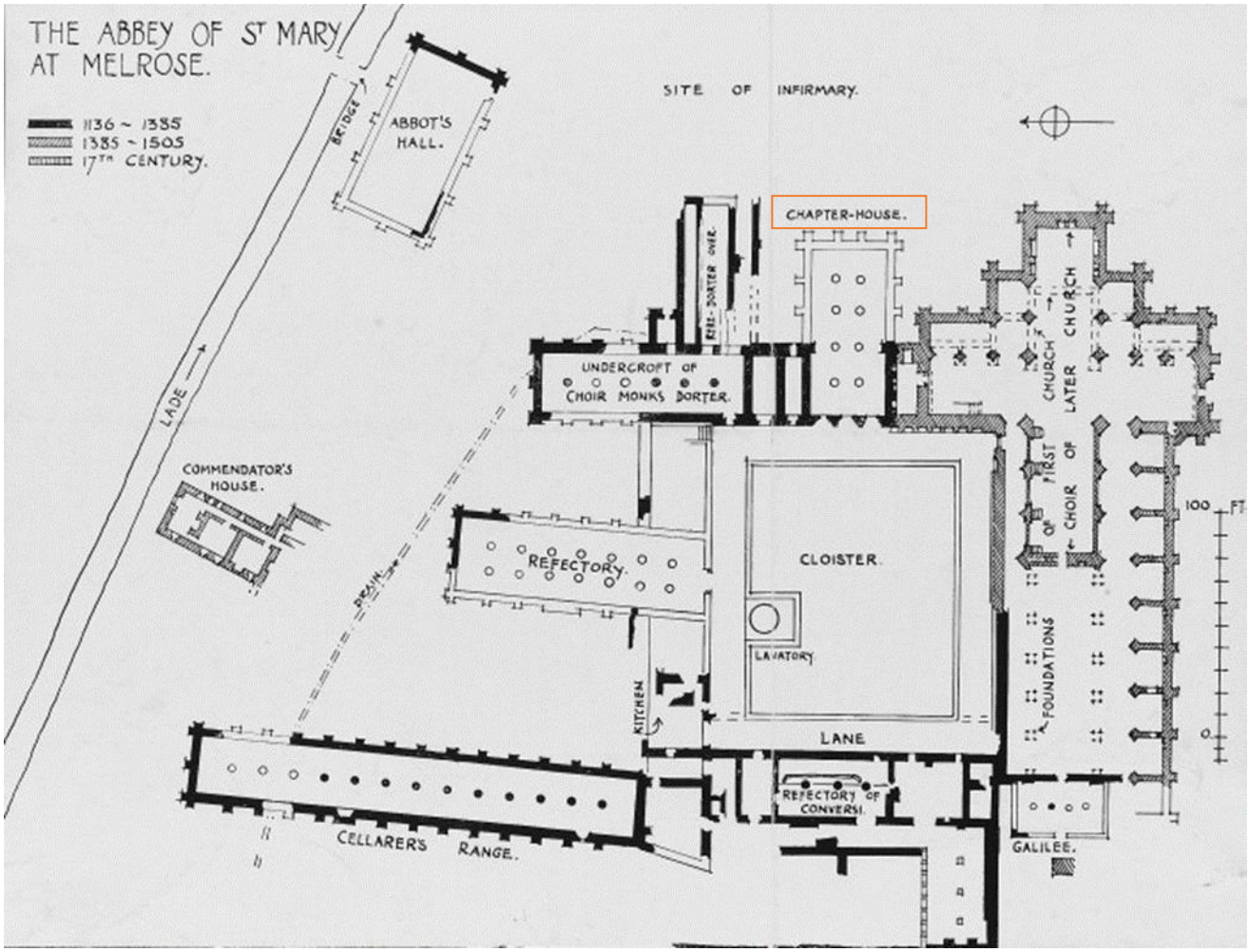

Figure 3 Plan of Melrose, *The Courtland Institute of Art, Conway Collections*

Waltheof was buried in the chapter house, as was customary for abbots (highlighted in Figure 3). His *vita* described the tension surrounding the early cult. Bishop Herbert of Glasgow argued in favour of burial in the church, expecting a cult to develop and wishing to ensure easy access for prospective pilgrims. The eventual choice of Waltheof's burial place could be seen as a deliberate attempt to restrict access to monastic personnel and limit the growth of the cult.[7] In this respect, Waltheof's cult is useful as it illustrates the tension between the Cistercian isolationist ethos and growing incursion by outsiders. Debates about access were framed around

[7] H. Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century' in S. Boardman and E. Williamson (eds.) *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010) pp. 43-60, at pp. 45-46.

the location of the burial, and the decision between chapter-house and church.[8] Those predisposed to encourage the cult are made to reference Bernard's burial in the *Vita Waldevi*, wishing to dress Waltheof in vestments rather than a monastic habit 'as they had read of the Blessed Bernard'.[9]

Twelfth-century abbatial tombs tended to be located in the chapter-house, marked with a simple slab often decorated with an abbatial staff.[10] These evolved to include more elaborate, individualised images, occasionally including inscriptions.[11] The Cistercian statutes are clear that unobtrusiveness was the prime requirement for abbatial tombs, mandating that stones covering tombs be level with the ground, so as not to cause falls.[12] The chapter house was associated with abbatial discipline, and the burials of previous abbots there legitimated the current abbot's authority. Fountains Abbey has left a coherent pattern of abbatial burial. From 1170 to 1346, the abbots were buried in the chapter house, the first five having died away from the monastery. After 1346, abbots were buried at the entrance to the choir, within the choir and before certain chapel altars.[13] Jamroziak notes that by the fourteenth century, many abbots were buried in front of the high altar or other prestigious places in the monastic church.[14] This more individualised remembrance was reflected in other commemorative practices, such as the more detailed entries for abbots in necrologies and monastic chronicles.[15]

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[8] Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity', pp. 45-46. Cassidy-Welch, M., *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings,* pp. 217-43.
[9] Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity', p. 45.
[10] Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 217. See also M. Cassidy-Welch, 'Confessing to Remembrance: Stephen of Sawley's *Speculum Novitii* and Cistercian uses of Memory', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 35, (2000), 1, pp. 13-27, especially at p. 20.
[11] Butler, 'Cistercian Abbots' Tombs', p.81.
[12] 1194, s. 8, p. 285.
[13] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem,* p. 59. See also Gilyard-Beer 'The graves of the abbots of Fountains' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 59 (1987), pp. 44-66, pp. 45-6, p. 49.
[14] E. Jamroziak, 'Cistercian Abbots in Late Medieval Central Europe: Between the Cloister and the World', in M. Heale (ed), *The Prelate in England and Europe 1300-1560* (York, 2014), pp. 240-257, p. 249
[15] Ibid., pp. 249-50.

The first abbot to succeed Waltheof, William, was concerned by the posthumous healing miracles at Waltheof's tomb, performed on a lay brother and lay men from the village and further afar, and so reduced access to the tomb even to the monks.[16] The house was divided over his actions, and the tension contributed to Abbot William's resignation in April 1170. His successor, Jocelin, favoured the cult. He decided to replace the stone covering the tomb with a marble slab, and in the process discovered the incorrupt body of the saint. An incorrupt body was an important sign of sanctity, as 'the physical body represented a sign of the condition of the soul'.[17]

When Waltheof's body was discovered to still be incorrupt in 1206 a *vita*, that demonstrated the changing requirements of the papal curia, was commissioned.[18] The author was Jocelin of Furness. In the prologue he stated:

> In this book you will have a clear mirror of imitation, of wonder and of exultation: great wonder is evident in the miracles he has performed; the privilege of exultation is bestowed on you through the common stock and descent you share; imitation is proposed to you and others in zeal for virtue and the exercise of Works of mercy.[19]

The idea that Waltheof was to be presented as a model of imitation resonates with Bernard's *vita Malachie*, and Aelred's work addressed to Henry II. Waltheof was presented as an ideal ecclesiastical leader, 'who preserves humility and simplicity despite high office.'[20] He was also the special patron of Melrose. In describing the discussion and eventual decision surrounding

[16] Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity', p. 47.
[17] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 7. See also P. Binski *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 21.
[18] Jocelin of Furness, 'Life of Waltheof', *Acta Sanctorum, August I* (Antwerp, 1733), 248-76 (3rd ed, Paris, 1867, 249-77), from a lost volume of the fifteenth-century Boddeken legendary. A more complete text survives in Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Biblioteca, II. 2097, fos. 41v-68 (s. xv, Dunfermline). G. J., McFadden, 'An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952).
[19] Jocelin of Furness, 'Life of Waltheof', *Acta Sanctorum,* p. 249.
[20] Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England', p. 42.

the burial, and the abdication of Abbot William, Jocelin makes it clear that access to the relics should be granted to the monastic community. It is also interesting that one of the miracles that so worried Abbot William had been performed on a lay brother. The *conversi* at Melrose were devoted to their abbot's cult, encouraged to emulate the saint's humility. In stressing Waltheof's heritage, Jocelin also placed the saint in the context of the Scottish court.[21] Waltheof could thus appeal to lay brothers and monks at Melrose, as well as important lay patrons.

The attempts of the community at Melrose to have Waltheof canonised reveal the impact of increasing papal authority and changing procedure, in addition to the perceived authority of the General Chapter; in 1171 when discussing the location of the saint's body 'the power of the General Chapter to decide this matter was seen as equivalent to that of the Pope'.[22] Waltheof was never canonised, but his cult retained local support. In 1240 his body was discovered to be no longer incorrupt. Instead of signalling the end of the cult, the opportunity to distribute relics was seized, and a spate of healing miracles followed. Here the divergence from Bernard's posthumous cult at Clairvaux can be clearly seen, as there the community reported only as many miracles as necessary to encourage papal canonisation.

Birkett noted the occasion for this discovery was a building scheme 'partly intended to provide easier access to Waltheof's tomb'.[23] This building work was likely due to the extension of the chapter house. The *Chronicle* notes in 1240 the remains of the early abbots were removed from their position near the door, and reburied at the east end. The original space became a vestibule for the extension, which housed Waltheof's tomb.[24] This would have allowed pilgrims to access the shrine. As the reconstruction in Figure 4 shows, the open quatrefoils would allow

[21] Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England', p. 47.
[22] Birkett, 'The Struggle for Sanctity', p. 53.
[23] Ibid., p. 59.
[24] Ewart, Gallagher, Sherman et al, 'Graveheart: cult and burial in a Cistercian chapter house', p. 262, 265.

pilgrims access to the space immediately above the burial.[25] These developments demonstrate the increasing local importance of the cult from 1150 to 1240, as the demands from pilgrims amplified and the abbey increasingly needed their support in a precarious border position.

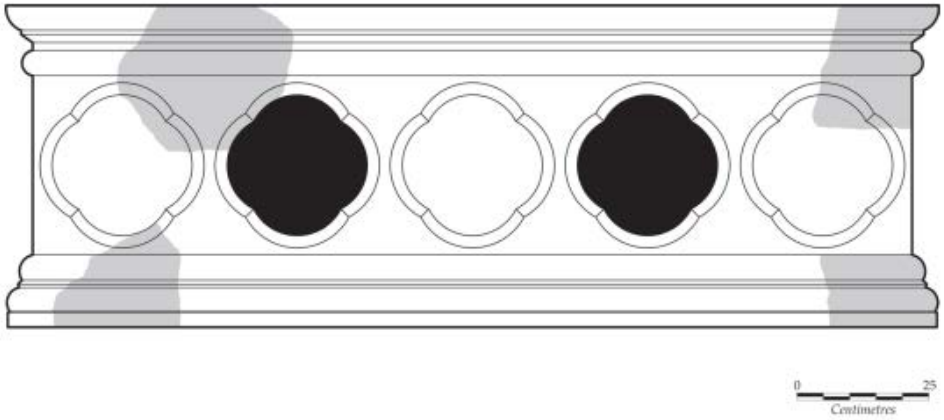

Figure 4 A reconstruction of St Waltheof's tomb at Melrose Abbey.

The main source for the abbey's history is the *Melrose Chronicle*, begun in c.1173, about fifty years after the foundation. The *Chronicle* records events of local and regional significance, and notices of relevance to the abbey's mother-, sister- and daughter-houses, and matters affecting the whole order; the deaths of kings, queens and popes, or information about the crusades.[26] In addition to providing a contemporary witness to events, the *Chronicle* includes copied texts, mostly letters.[27] Aside from these additions, the record is an annalistic chronicle, with entries arranged by year and compiled by multiple people.[28] The *Chronicle* was designed

[25] Ewart, Gallagher, Sherman et al, 'Graveheart: cult and burial in a Cistercian chapter house', p. 281.
[26] *The Chronicle of Melrose From A.D 731 to A. D. 1275* (trans.) J. Stevenson in The Church Historians of England, Vol. IV, Part I (Lampeter, 1991) pp. 77-242, pp. 238-41. This included information such as payments to crusaders in 1215, and the presence of King Louis in Cyprus and Prince Edward in Acre.
[27] D. Broun, 'Melrose Abbey and its World' in Broun, D., and Harrison, J., *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition, Vol I Introduction and Facsimile* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp 1-12, p.8.
[28] Harrison, 'Cistercian Chronicling in the British Isles', in Broun, D., and Harrison, J., *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition, Vol I Introduction and Facsimile* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 13-14.

as a reference work for the community.[29] The recent stratigraphic edition by Broun and Harrison demonstrates the continued interest of the monks in the *Chronicle* and its evolution.[30]

Lay burials are mentioned throughout the text, in some cases several years after the burial, increasing the chances of omissions and inconsistencies. In addition to references in the entries, the chronicle contains a burial list incorporated as a fly leaf. This list is based on information drawn from the chronicle and other sources' the memory of the community, and inscriptions in the chapter house, church, or other locations. This insertion has been dated to the fourteenth century based on palaeographical evidence, demonstrating a continuing interest in the burials, and the relationships they denoted.[31] Jamroziak has emphasised the importance of these relationships for the fortunes of the Abbey in the thirteenth century and beyond. This date also accounts for the lack of burial locations for some people; the entry may have been written or amended years after the event.

The information included in the *Chronicle* suggests the links between the communities and powerful members of the laity were seen as a positive form of contact.[32] The inclusion of genealogical information highlights that the community was reflecting both on its own history and that of its patrons.[33] The *Chronicle* records twenty-three burials, including one cleric, and five women. Broun notes the *Chronicle* mentions five other burials at Scottish Cistercian houses between 1230 and 1234.[34] Eleven of the burials recorded in the thirteenth century took place in the chapter-house, a space meant to be reserved for abbots, and one near the high altar.[35] Two

[29] Harrison, 'Cistercian Chronicling in the British Isles', p. 18, 20.
[30] D. Broun, 'Editing the Chronicle of Melrose' in D. Broun, and J. Harrison, *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition, Vol I Introduction and Facsimile* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 29-39, p. 35.
[31] E. Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave; Melrose Abbey and its Burials in the Thirteenth Century' *Citeaux: commentarii cistercienses* 56, 1 (2005), pp. 323-36, p. 327.
[32] Ibid., p. 326.
[33] Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders*', p. 68.
[34] Broun, 'Editing the Chronicle of Melrose', pp. 29-39.
[35] Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave', p. 328, Table 1.

are recorded as having occurred near another relative already buried at the house, demonstrating the continuing links between the community at Melrose and certain families. The location of the remaining ten burials is not noted.

The chapter house was a hub for both sacred power (*virtus*) and *post mortem* commemoration of the 'not quite so special dead'.[36] As a restricted space, the chapter house would have been a prestigious burial place. Lay people buried here would be buried *ad sanctos*; near the abbots and Waltheof's shrine. This proximity was believed to confer spiritual benefit. As vicinity to a shrine or altar was the pinnacle of a hierarchy of holiness, burial locations could reflect or attempt to assert the person's social standing in life. The chapter house was central to the life of the community, hosting morning meetings (practical and spiritual), and being the traditional resting places for abbots. In addition to Waltheof's shrine then, lay people wishing to be buried in the chapter house might have been influenced by its memorial function, and the potential presence of other powerful lay people. This practice was not limited to Melrose; after 1160 Ranulph de Merlay, the founder of Newminster, was buried on the north side of the chapter house, along with his wife and son. Baldwin de Bethune was buried in a similar position at Meaux in 1212.[37]

The presence of the tomb also served as a physical reminder of the individual to the monastic community. It appears there was also a wider audience for these lay tombs. The more relaxed attitude to pilgrimage demonstrated by Abbot William's successors, and the use of the abbey church for 'parochial worship', would suggest a regular lay presence in the abbey. Fawcett and Oram noted minor entrances were added on the east and west sides of the precinct to allow this

[36] To adapt a phrase from Peter Brown.
[37] L. Butler, 'Cistercian Abbots' Tombs and Abbey Seals', M. P. Lillich (ed.) *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 4* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1983), pp. 78-88, pp. 81.

access with minimal disruption to the monks, the great gate being located on the south side.[38] That monastic precincts had additional entrances is demonstrated in the statutes; in 1231, Stephen Lexington, abbot of Cîteaux, ordered all additional entrances should be walled up. Lay people were present in various areas of the monastic precinct, for donation ceremonies, liturgical celebrations, and meetings. As Jamroziak has noted, liturgical events such as the procession for the Feast of Purification involved 'the entire community of lay brothers, *familiares*, and guests.'[39] One charter of donation from Rievaulx, dating from between 1160 and 1165, mentions that the ceremony took place in the church,[40] and ceremonies of admission to confraternity took place in the chapter house.[41]

The community of Rievaulx venerated William, the first abbot, who died in 1145, and was buried in the chapter house according to Cistercian regulation.[42] Aelred, Rievaulx's third abbot, died in 1167 and was also revered as a saint. He was originally buried next to William in the chapter-house, so both tombs were visible to those attending ceremonies of admission to confraternity.[43] Aelred's biographer, Walter Daniel, anticipated his eventual translation. The exact date is unknown, but it is probable that Aelred's shrine was translated to the high altar of the church by the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[44] During William's rule, the chapter house had been a single-storey room within the east range.[45] Aelred undertook an ambitious building programme during his tenure (1147-1167), replacing the original chapter house with a two-storey structure, circumscribing ambulatory and hemicycle, triple entrances, an interior

[38] Fawcett, and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 69.
[39] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 41.
[40] Ibid., p. 46.
[41] Ibid., p. 49.
[42] 1180, s. 5, p. 88.
[43] P. Fergusson, and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory* (London, 1999), p. 167
[44] Ibid., p. 169.
[45] Ibid., p. 94.

vestibule and benching arrangement, and possibly a timber barrel vault.[46] William was reinterred in the centre of the new hemicycle.

By around 1250 St William had a new shrine, shown in Figure 5. This was located at the entrance to the chapter house in the north opening that flanked the central doorway.[47] This shrine had an altar, and its location allowed use from the cloister gallery and the chapter house. In a manner similar to Melrose, pilgrims were granted limited access to the shrine, whilst the interior side was reserved for the community. Fergusson and Harrison note this arrangement 'allowed for additional burials space in the cloister gallery', but do not suggest who these individuals might have been.[48] Peers notes there is evidence of ten burials in the chapter house, three of which retain their inscribed cover stones. These suggest that Rievaulx limited burial in the chapter house to abbots, as they recall the sixth, twentieth and twenty-third abbots, William, who died in 1203, Peter who died in 1307, and John, who died in 1327.[49] This arrangement suggests that the community was attemping to negotiate the tension between cult promotion and isolation.

[46] Fergusson, and Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, p. 95, C. R. Peers, 'Rievaulx Abbey: The Shrine in the Chapter House', *Archaeological Journal*, 86 (1929), pp. 20-28, pp. 22-23.
[47] Fergusson, and Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, p. 99, Peers, 'Rievaulx Abbey', p. 24.
[48] Ibid., p. 166.
[49] Peers, 'Rievaulx Abbey', p. 23.

Figure 5 Abbot William's shrine at Rievaulx Abbey.

Several of the individuals mentioned in the *Chronicle* came from prominent Anglo-Norman families. Jamroziak has found connections on both sides of the English-Scottish border, and with the Scottish royal court, serving as chancellors, chamberlains and justiciars.[50] These were important connections, with benefactors who could promote the abbey's interests and witness charters. In several cases the *Chronicle* highlights the continuing connections of the abbey with particular families. Fawcett and Oram note the number of these burials increased over the course of the thirteenth century, emphasising the presence of the Avenal and Balliol families and rising Scottish families such as the Cawfords, Maxwells, Normanvilles and Sommervilles.[51] This group had connections beyond shared patronage; Henry de Balliol was married to William de Valognes' daughter Lora. The lay patrons buried in the chapter house, and thus nearest to St Waltheof, were Melrose's most important patrons. The Avenel, Corbet, Sommerville families settled in Scotland during the reign of David I. The Normanville's and

[50] Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave', p. 329.
[51] Fawcett, and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 26.

de Valognes' were connected with the royal courts of King William and Alexander II. The Balliols' and Muscamps' were northern English families with cross border connections.[52]

Members of the families buried at Melrose brought gifts of property and rights. In 1188 Richard de Morville, King William's constable, his wife Avice and their heir William 'gave to God and St Mary and the monks of Melrose in perpetual alms, the land that is called Park, as their charter testifies. May their propitious alms be ever in eternal memory'.[53] Avice and Richard were buried at Melrose in 1189.[54] The *Chronicle* records five female burials at the abbey, all important benefactors. In addition to the aforementioned Avice, Christina Corbet, the wife of William, son of the earl of Dunbar, Ada Balliol, a woman named Juliana, and her husband Sir Thomas son of Randolf, and Lora, countess of Atholl, were all buried in the abbey, between 1241 and 1269. Christina and William's sons continued the relationship with the abbey, appearing as witnesses in numerous charters.[55] Their grandfather Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was admitted to the order *ad succurrendum* on his deathbed, though he was buried in the nunnery church of St Mary of Eccles.[56] When no longer contributing grants of land or money, these benefactors continued to witness charters for the abbey.[57]

The social status of the benefactors enabled their burial in a favoured location. Overall, those buried in the chapter house were the abbey's most influential patrons, with cross border connections and ties to the court. This speaks to the role of Melrose's position geographically, and the influence of royal patronage and the draw of St Waltheof's shrine. If the locations of these tombs are representative of power, in the sense of the links the deceased had with the

[52] Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave', pp. 326-328.
[53] Fawcett, and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 25.
[54] Jamroziak, 'Making Friends Beyond the Grave', p. 326.
[55] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 56.
[56] *The Chronicle of Melrose,* p. 177.
[57] Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders*, p. 96.

monastic community and power to command such a burial place, we must consider to whom this power is being displayed.

Waltheof's relics were used as surety in the swearing of oaths at Melrose. The connections to the royal Scottish court continued after King David's reign. In 1216 Alexander II held a meeting at Melrose with his chief advisors and the northern barons seeking protection against King John. Melrose was geographically convenient, and had maintained strong links with Yorkshire through its mother-house.[58] He received their homage in the chapter-house of Melrose and had them swear fealty to him 'upon the relics of the saints', probably St Waltheof.[59] It is important to note the role his presence played in attracting patrons such as Alexander II to the abbey. Benefactors lucky enough to secure burial *ad sanctos* would also have their tombs visible to people visiting the abbey for such official business.

Alexander II was a benefactor to Melrose throughout his reign. Penman noted 'the only Eastertime for which the king's itinerary can be positively pinpointed places him at Melrose in 1231'.[60] There is evidence of his interest in Melrose from the small number of extant acts which extended new patronage. This includes the provision of altar candles for Melrose Abbey.[61] After his death in 1249 in Oban Bay, Alexander's body was transported to Melrose and buried in the monks' choir.[62] Alexander may have felt penitential towards St Waltheof, following the break of his oath of 1216, and the ensuing destruction of Melrose's churches, and papal excommunication. Penman has suggested Alexander's burial could be seen to have echoed his

[58] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 48.
[59] *The Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 144. For further reading on oath-taking on relics, see G. J. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995) pp. 135-141.
[60] M. Penman, 'Royal Piety in thirteenth century Scotland: the religion and religiosity of Alexander II (1214-49) and Alexander III (1249-86)' in J. Burton and P. Schofeld and B. Waiver (ed) *Thirteenth Century England XII: Proceedings of the Greynog Conference Vol 12* (Woodbridge, 2007) p. 15
[61] J. M. Scoular, *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II 1214- 1249* (Edinburgh, 1959), Act 24.
[62] Fawcett and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 26. *The Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 108.

father's at Arbroath.[63] It is possible Alexander regarded the abbey as his most prestigious re-foundation, especially if he attended the translation of Waltheof and the other abbots in 1240. Penman's speculative calendar for Alexander II in that year 'suggests that he may have observed the anniversary of Melrose's original foundation too, 23 March'.[64] As Jamroziak argued, royal burials at Melrose were 'a significant development in the abbey's relationship with its patrons and evidence of a growing shift towards a more Scottish cultural and political outlook'.[65]

Alexander was involved in expanding the Cistercian presence in Scotland. Probably from around 1226 he began to plan for a daughter house of Melrose; statute 39 from 1227 states that the abbots of Rievaulx and Coupar Angus were to inspect the site. The monks from Melrose arrived at Balmerino 1229.[66] The house received the patronage of Queen Ermengarde, who was buried there on 11 February 1233. The *Chronicle of Melrose* records her burial as having occurred 'in the abbey'.[67] As a royal founder, it is probable that this occurred in the church proper. The abbey had a dual dedication to St Edward, reflecting Ermengarde's devotion to St Edward the Confessor. This strong identification ceased after her death, and the dual dedication was dropped from Balmerino's charters.[68] Such dual dedications were rare, but not unique. Culross, founded in 1217, was dedicated to St Serf and the Virgin. This reflected an association of St Serf, or *Servanus*, with the local area that had been in place for centuries.[69]

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[63] Penman, 'Royal Piety in thirteenth century Scotland', p. 17.
[64] Ibid., p.17, fn. 57.
[65] Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders*', p. 68. For a discussion of the connections between Melrose and its patrons into the fourteenth century, see pp. 69-71.
[66] 1227, s. 39, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 2, p. 63.
[67] The Chronicle of Melrose*, 'Obit bone memorie Ermengardis regina Willelmi regis scocie mater Alexandri regis iii idus februarii anno desponsacionis eius xlvii et sepulta est in abbatial sanci edwardi de balmorinac quam ipsa fundauerat',* BL Faustina B. IX, fol. 42v. M. H. Hammond, 'Queen Ermengarde and the Abbey of St Edward, Balmerino', *Citeaux, Commentarii cistercienses*, 59 (2008) 1-2, pp. 11-35, p. 23.
[68] Hammond, 'Queen Ermengarde and the Abbey of St Edward, Balmerino', p. 12.
[69] Ibid., p. 26.

Overall, the burial pattern at Melrose is best understood in relation to the abbey's cult practice. Melrose's geographical position and connection to the royal court may have created exaggerated circumstances that increased the number of lay burials in the precinct. The draw of St Waltheof explains the large number of lay burials in the chapter house, as the abbey's patrons sought to be buried *ad sanctos*. The positive view the community had of these connections is clear in the *Chronicle*, indicating their willingness to allow lay burials in a space reserved for abbots, though the description of Waltheof's funeral and burial in the vita demonstrates the divisions within the community with regards to this policy.

2. Cistercian statutes and irregular burials

The situation at Melrose Abbey shows how certain conditions could lead to Cistercian communities deviating from the descriptions of cult function in the Order's hagiography, and the example of the cults of SS Bernard and Malachy at Clairvaux. This chapter will now take a broader view to consider the statutes relating to 'irregular' burials, to argue that the General Chapter was aware of the potential social consequences of their restricted burial policy, and usually managed exceptions at individual abbeys. The statutes echoed the anxieties about both lay and monastic pilgrimage seen in other texts throughout this thesis, but appear to have acknowledged the need for flexibility in the face of local conditions.

Cistercian regulations dealt with a variety of situations concerning who might be buried in the precinct and where. The *Capitula,* issued in c.1136-7 though likely based on earlier texts, state that burials are not permitted. This was repeated in the *Instituta* of c.1147, and the reasons for this prohibition were expanded in the *Exordium Parvum;* secular burials were not permitted by the Rule of St Benedict, strict adherence to which was to be a cornerstone of Cistercian

identity.[70] Indeed, burial grounds had been listed initially among the forms of property Cistercians were not to accept.[71] There were, however, exceptions from the beginning of the Order. The following *capitulum* allowed that guests and servants who died within the monastery may be buried there, and additions to this list, for two familiars of each monk, were made as early as c.1147.[72] The preparatory commission for the 1190 Chapter provided an authorised interpretation of *Inst.* XXVII 3. The intention was that no more than two names of friends or familiars per monk could be on the waiting list for eventual burial at the abbey at any one time, rather than the narrower reading that would have limited burials to two familiars to ever be buried at the abbey. Princes, bishops and founders were exempt from this restriction, allowing some monasteries 'to be turned into veritable *necropoli* for members of the upper echelons of Church and society at large'.[73]

The first statute issued by the General Chapter on burials c.1179 mentioned founders for the first time.[74] This means that though many abbeys were known to be burying their founders from their establishment, the statute allowing such practice was not issued until twenty years later. At Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, for example, Serlo de Pemroke was buried in 1135. Wardrop argued his gift of land 'was of undoubted importance to the struggling community'.[75] The General Chapter reiterated the principles surrounding burials with some regularity; those relating to the people generally accepted and those excluded from the church or chapter house

[70] *The Little Exord* in P. Matarasso, *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1993), p. 6, Freeman*, Narratives of a New Order,* p. 13. These sources and the debates surrounding their dating will be discussed in Chapter 6.
[71] Capitula XXIII *Quod redditios non habeamus*/ That we are not to have revenues.
[72] Hall, 'The Legislative Background', pp. 364-365.
[73] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, Preparatory commission, p. 178, s. 5.
[74] The original edition of the statutes by Canivez dated this decision to 1157. The more recent work done by Waddell has shown this statute to date from 1179.
[75] J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), p. 30, 263. Hugh of Kirkstall*, Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii*, in J. R. Walbran (ed) *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains* (Surtees Society 42, 67, 130; Durham, London, Edinburgh, 1863-1918), I, pp. 55-6.

were stated in the Codifications of 1202, 1220, and 1237.[76] At the same time, the Chapter rebuked specific abbots for irregular burials from the 1190s to 1250s, but Fountains was never thus reprimanded.

Lay burials were occurring well before 1179, including at the mother houses in Burgundy. We must ask what was at stake in maintaining the fiction of a consistent and exclusionary burial policy, when practice evidently diverged. This is not to encourage a return to the previous 'ideal and reality' trend of the older historiography.[77] Rather to note that the General Chapter must have perceived some utility in repeating the principles and reprimanding specific houses, even if such were not regularly enforced. As strict adherence to the Rule of St Benedict was the order's defining feature, a restrictive burial policy may have been an important distinction. In an environment of competitive piety and a myriad of other reform movements, the Cistercians would be sensitive to details of differentiation.[78] The language used by the Chapter would have provided a sense of identity for geographically disparate houses, and a social glue of sorts for abbots arriving at the General Chapter. This would perhaps have been especially important for incorporated congregations such as Savigny and Obazine, where becoming Cistercian meant changing quotidian practice.

In other orders, it was common practice to bury the lay founder of the house in a prestigious place in the abbey precinct. Golding has noted the 'preferred place of burial was undoubtedly the church: the aisles of the presbytery, the choir and the high altar were most often requested' and nave altar, entrance to or within the chapter house.[79] Though the founders of Cistercian

[76] 1202 Dist. X.31 and Dist. X.32, 1220 Dist. X.25 and Dist. X.26, 1237 Dist. X.24 and Dist. X.2.
[77] Lekai *The Cistercians, Ideal and Reality* (Kent, OK, 1977).
[78] As was noted in the Introduction, there was contemporary literature on (perceived) differences between the Orders.
[79] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 61. See also B. Golding 'Burials and benefactions: an aspect of monastic patronage in thirteenth century England' in W. M. Ormrod (ed) *Symposium on England in the thirteenth century: Harlaxton conference proceedings* (Nottingham, 1985), pp. 64-75, p. 74.

houses were permitted burial in the precinct, the location is not specified, and they are instead included in the same clauses as servants, guests and familiars, rather than those that name people allowed burial in the church. In 1180 the Order had stated 'in our oratories, none are to be buried except kings and queens and bishops; in our chapter houses, abbots, or the aforesaid also, if they prefer'.[80] The timing of this announcement may have been related to the burial of Louis VII of France at in the choir of Barbeaux that year, a house he had founded in 1147. After his burial there he was commemorated with a solemn anniversary Mass and Office.[81] This anniversary celebration was allowed by the General Chapter, but appears again in the statutes for 1190, when it is reported that women, presumably from the court, were present for the Office and Mass. Though the abbot was at the General Chapter when the offense took place, he and the community were placed on bread and water for a day, with more severe punishment awaiting the officials who permitted the women to enter the cloister.[82] This does not appear to have been a strong deterrent, as a similar violation was reported in 1192.[83]

For lay people, burial in a Cistercian abbey had become 'a mark of one's status and the penitential quality of one's life'.[84] This desire for burial in a Cistercian house may have been increased by their rejection of Benedictine modes of commemoration and aura of exclusivity. A hierarchy of preference with regards to places in the precinct was apparent:

> 'relating to proximity to the high altar, transept chapels, doorways and other elements of the church structure, reflecting people's desires to be buried to especially resonant sacred foci, where Masses were celebrated, where relics were situated, or where specific images of saints stood'.[85]

[80] 1180, s. 5, p. 88. Waddell identifies three different formulae, all with the same basic meaning, but two of them use 'church' and one 'oratory'.
[81] 1183, s. 1, p. 103.
[82] 1190, s. 38, p. 205.
[83] 1192, s.52, p. 256.
[84] A. E. Lester, 'A shared imitation: Cistercian convents and crusader families in thirteenth-century Champagne', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35, 4 (2009), pp. 353-370, p. 367.
[85] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem,* p. 57.

This helps to explain the draw of the chapter house between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. It was a place second only in importance to the church and 'particularly associated with the corporate aspects of monastic foundations'.[86] Cassidy-Welch suggests burial sites for lay patrons and benefactors were often chosen on the strength of their donations to the abbey.[87]

By the thirteenth century it appears that Sallay and Meaux were becoming more accommodating to their patrons, demonstrating the impact of external factors on burial decisions. These were smaller foundations in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and so more dependent on a wide range of benefactors and perhaps more disposed to acquiesce to their requests. That burial requests were often accompanied by grants of land or property is important for considering the pace of the encroachment of lay people on monastic space. Coldstream has argued this 'insidious pressure' to accept lay burials in exchange for land may have led poorer houses to accept lay burials sooner, and in sacred sites such as the church, in exchange for financial aid.[88] The traces of these burials can be seen in the cartularies of individual houses. Many requests took the form of grants of land or property. In around 1176 a man and his wife agreed to give up their claims to some land near the house at Sallay. In return they were granted fraternity, and the promise of burial in the cemetery. The man would be received *ad conversionem* when, and if, he wanted to go. He was to be able to lie among the monks in secular habit if ill, and leave when recovered.[89] The *Coucher Book of Kirstall* records that at some point between 1200 and 1208, for example, 'Stephen of Hammerton granted the monks of Kirkstall twenty loads of hay, together with his chattels at his death, *as well as his body'*.[90]

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[86] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 62. See also Gilyard-Beer, 'Byland Abbey and the grave of Roger de Mowbray' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 55 (1983), pp. 61-66, p. 65.
[87] Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 218.
[88] N. Coldstream, 'Cistercian Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution' in C. Norton and D. Park (ed) *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 157.
[89] G. Constable*, The Reformation of the twelfth century*, (Cambridge, 1996) p. 83.
[90] Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 233, My emphasis.

Ad conversionem or *ad succurrendum* admission to the monastery created an interesting category of lay person to commemorate. This practice allowed lay people approaching death to join the communal religious rule, blurring the line between the 'laity' and the 'religious'.[91] This was the process open to the man at Sallay in 1176. There is evidence for such practice at Melrose, in Scotland, and Abbey Dore, in Herefordshire. Gerard of Wales commented on events there, when two women were so admitted 'with all the solemnity of psalms and prayers with which men were wont to be made monks'.[92] *Ad succurrendum* admission circumvented the deathbed donations frowned upon by the General Chapter, but allowed the burial of lay people not officially sanctioned until 1217.[93] The practice of *ad succurendum* admission was censured by the Chapter in 1201, but evidently continued into the thirteenth century. Benefactors often sought an annual obit. Williams noted that in 1205 the abbots of Pruilly and Les Sellières were disciplined for conceding to the Countess of Champagne a daily Mass 'contrary to the form of the Order'.[94] This is contrasted with the actions of the 1250 Chapter, which 'approved an annual obit for the counts of Foix buried at Boulbonne'.[95]

The language of the secondary literature, of 'insidious pressure' and the demands of patrons, here echoes that seen in the twelfth century statutes with regards to irregular burials. There were thirty-three statutes relating to irregular burials between 1100 and 1252, concerning the burial of lay people to whom the monastery was not obligated, or the locations of their burials. Some statutes provide little detail about the nature of the irregularity, stating that the abbot in question accepted the dead for burial.[96] Six of these statutes focused on the type of

[91] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 61. See also Rowell, *The liturgy of Christian burial: an introductory survey of the historical development of Christian burial* (London, 1977), p. 69.
[92] D. H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leominster, 1998), p. 133.
[93] Ewart, Gallagher, Sherman et al, 'Graveheart: cult and burial in a Cistercian chapter house', p. 294.
[94] D. H. Williams, 'Layfolk within Cistercian Precincts', in J. Loades (ed.) *Monastic Studies II* (Bangor, 1991), pp. 87-118, p. 104
[95] Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 136.
[96] 1191, s. 25, pp. 223-4. The abbot of Mazieres buried a man 'irregularly'. J. Hall, S. Sneddon, and N. Sohr, 'Table of Legislation Concerning the Burial of Laity and Other Patrons in Cistercian Abbeys' *Cîteaux: commentarii*

person accepted for burial; men and women to whom the monastery was not obligated.[97] The potential burial of excommunicates at Tintern in 1221 and Marzan in 1225 was referred for further investigation by the General Chapter to each house's Father Immediate.[98] By 1217 the Chapter allowed that, provided they had asked the monastery and had the licence of their priest, seculars could be buried in Cistercian cemeteries.[99] This requirement of permission from the parish priest was not a Cistercian invention, but dates to the Council of Beauvais in 1114, which prohibited any monastery from accepting lay people for burial without the permission of the parish priest.[100]

A further twelve statutes addressed the space chosen for the lay burial; the oratory, chapter house, or church. This included men, women, and founders. The abbots of Salem (1193), La Vieuville (1201) and Fontfroide (1215) buried women in their oratories and chapter house.[101] The abbots of Clairmont and Vauluisant buried their founders in their chapter houses in 1197 and 1198 respectively.[102] In 1197 the abbot of Himmerod buried a cleric in his chapter house,[103] in 1199 the abbot of Swineshead buried 'an advocate of his' in the same space.[104] Between 1205

cistercienses, 56, 1 (2005), pp. 373-418, p. 380. 1214, s. 20, p. 421 (Canivez vol 1) The abbot of Bussiere 'received the dead for burial' Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 388.

[97] 1190, s. 42, 1196, s. 26, 1213, s. 28, 1217, s. 29, 1221, s. 28, 1225, s. 19.

[98] 1221, s.28, Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, Vol 2, p. 5. 'The matter of complaint of the bishop of Ferns against the abbot of Tintern in Ireland, that he had received excommunicates for burial, is entrusted to the abbot of Clairvaux, who is to inquire carefully about this; and if he finds thud, by the authority of the General Chapter he is to correct this as he sees fit; and what he has done about this etc [report back at next General Chapter] Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 398. 1225, s. 19, Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, Vol 2, p. 39. 'The matter of the abbot of Mazan, who was accused of having buried a certain excommunicate nobleman, is entrusted to his father immediate, the abbot of Bonnevaux, who is to inquire carefully into the matter, and correct what he finds needs correction. He is to bring letters of excuse from the General Chapter for the Archbishop of Vienne and for the Bishop of Vivers, to obtain their peace on the matter of the accusation against the abbot of Mazan Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 398.

[99] Hall, 'The Legislative Background', p. 366.

[100] R. Somerville, 'The Council of Beauvais, 1114', *Traditio* 24, (1968), p. 503. In 1217 the abbot of Dunbrody was rebuked for receiving parishioners without the permission of their priests. Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 392.

[101] See statutes 1193 s. 18. p. 263, 1201, s. 14. p. 486. Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 382, 384, 390.

[102] Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 382.

[103] Ibid., p. 382.

[104] Ibid., p. 382.

and 1219 the abbots of Le Val, La Pr*é*e, and Bebenhausen buried counts in their oratories, chapter houses, churches and chapels.[105]

These infractions received a variety of penances from the Chapter, ranging from three days light penance with one on bread and water, to an abbot being barred from his stall for forty days. The abbot of Aigiubelle, for example, received six days in light penance with one on bread and water, and was barred from his stall for forty days, for burying a man somewhere in the abbey precinct in 1191. His Father Immediate was asked to 'deprive him of any occasion for wandering', and not send him on visitations.[106] This punishment reflected other infractions, including preaching in secular churches, and the imposition of penances on secular people without permission. It is not clear in the statute whether this absent permission was intended to come from the parish priest or the Chapter.

The range of punishments suggests they may have been little more than a permissive statement of preferences, reflecting the fact that they were 'originally only meant to address situations as they arouse, and to forestall possible future aberrations and difficulties'.[107] This is despite occasional statements that spoke of the aims for consistency; after the penances meted out to the abbot of Swineshead, the chapter mandated that 'a similar penalty given to others on whose advice this was done'.[108] After that for the abbot of La Vieuville that 'all others who advised such a burial are to suffer a similar penalty, so that they may not presume to do similar things in future'.[109] Such pronouncements did not prevent further infractions.

There does not seem to be a pattern in the penances dispensed; both the abbots of Salem and Fontfoide received six days in light penance and were barred from their stalls for forty for

[105] Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 386, p. 388, p. 394.
[106] Ibid., p. 380.
[107] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 8.
[108] Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 382.
[109] 1201, s. 14. p. 486.

burying women in 1193 and 1215, but the abbot of La Vieville committed the same offense in 1202 and received three days of penance. Neither does there appear to be a pattern based on the space chosen for burial. At Swineshead, Clairmont and Vauluisant the burials occurred in the chapter house, and the abbots were tasked with three days penance. At Le Pr*é*e, the abbot was asked to undertake six days of penance and was barred from his stall for forty days. At Le Miroir and Perseigne the burial of secular people in the church was in 1219 punished with three days of light penance, and the requirement that the bodies be moved.[110]At Clairfontaine, it was not the abbot that was punished, rather the prior, subprior and other senior monks who had allowed the burial of a count in the church were subject to six days in light penance, with two on bread and water.[111]

Given that most of the instances noted occurred in French and German houses, Swineshead in Lincolnshire is the exception, it is possible the Chapter was not informed about all irregular burials, through a failure in the visitation system or lack of information from local abbots. This might be a matter of the distance from Cîteaux, though in that case other local abbots could have reported the irregularities to the assembly. Despite the emphasis placed on visitation, there does not seem to have been a systematic apparatus to police the implementation of the statutes, or prevent their local interpretation. The variety of punishments imposed supports the idea that the status of, and prior relationship with, an individual was an important factor in how such burials were viewed. The General Chapter was well aware of the importance of lay burials, and their location could be used as an incentive to encourage the continued cooperation of the deceased's heirs.

In 1218 the abbots of Eberbach, Neuborg and Esserthal were ordered by the chapter to 'admonish their heirs of the Raugraf and persuade them how they should satisfy the church of

[110] Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 394.
[111] Ibid., p. 402.

St Simeon in Trier'.[112] If the heirs refused, their ancestor, buried at Otterbeg, was to be exhumed 'without delay'. Though the abbots were asked to report any updates at the next chapter, further statutes on the matter have not been found. In this instance, possession of the remains was used for leverage in a dispute. The lack of follow-up statutes suggests the strategy was successful. Similar sanctions were enforced during the Peace of God movement.[113] It is not clear from the statute where the Raugraf would have been reburied, but, during the tenth century at least, the desire to be buried in consecrated ground was used to impose public norms and values.

Overall the legislation demonstrates the Chapter's attempts at a consistent disciplinary policy, but also a lack of awareness of the scale of irregular burials. Over time the policy towards lay burials changed, suggesting a growing acceptance of the importance of friendly relations with patrons. Access for veneration and burial was not as consistent as the language in the hagiography might suggest. It is evident that individual communities made decisions about burial policy in relation to their local conditions and patronal relationships, as well as the rhetoric of the Order.

3. Competition and exhumation

Occasionally there is evidence that some Cistercian houses fought to offer access for their most powerful patrons. In these instances far from fearing contact with the world, they demonstrated the extent to which their abbeys were connected to contemporary social and political concerns. Burials were used to express social status or reframe a person's identity and connection to the community. The continued commemoration of a founder who had played an important role in

[112] 1218, s. 37, Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, Vol 1, p.492, Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 394.
[113] For further discussion see T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (London, 1992).

early disputes became especially important if contemporary patrons were less interested and active on the behalf of the monastic community. Though the moves do not appear to have been treated as *translatios*, they were remembered. The context of the texts in which they were recorded is therefore important.

The Order's perception of the importance of possessing the bones of their secular patrons is evident in two further circumstances; when houses competed to possess the bones of individuals, and when communities exhumed the remains of secular founders to take with them when forced to move site. This section will argue the movement of secular founders' bones were recorded and remembered, often in charters of individual houses or the statutues of the General Chapter. The access Cistercian houses granted for these burials was limited, maintaining the Order's impression of distinctiveness. Once they controlled the burial of a secular founder, however, they strove to retain it.

On more than one occasion the body of a lay person was so important as to be a source of competition between houses. In 1215 Philip de Valognes, the royal chamberlain, was buried in the chapter-house at Melrose. In an incident that highlights the positive perception of lay burials and the importance of continued relationships with certain families and the royal court, in 1229 the monks of Melrose obtained the body of Philip's son, William, who was High Chamberlain from 1215. William died at Kelso, and the monks there wanted the right to bury his body. Instead, he was taken to Melrose and buried next to his father, as he had intended.[114] This competition was not an isolated incident. In 1205 the General Chapter reprimanded the abbot of Mazieres:

> who presumed to receive for burial Alexander, a man of good memory*, to the prejudice of the monastery of Cîteaux***,** since he was the son of the Duke

[114] Fawcett, and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 26.

> of Burgundy and the founder of Cîteaux, although the prior of Cîteaux and certain brothers objected to this burial, are *ordered by the authority of the General Chapter to restore the buried body at once to Cîteaux and to the tombs of his fathers, the founders.*[115]

The dukes of Burgundy were the founders of Cîteaux and were traditionally buried in a chapel in the narthex, built specifically for them. Odo I, had been buried in the narthex at Cîteaux within five years of the abbey's foundation.[116]

Other houses had special relationships and burial practices for specific families. The counts of Flanders' relationship with Clairvaux was such that they were accorded the honour of a dedicated chapel for their family burials in the twelfth century. Thierry of Alsace, count between 1128 and 1168, travelled to Jerusalem four times. A friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, he founded Loos in 1146, and went on to endow Clairmais when the community was transferred to Saint-Omer in 1166.[117] His successor Philip, count from 1161 to 1191, built a funerary chapel with a transept and polygonal apse at the East end of the chevet at Clairvaux, a favour no other dynasty would receive.[118] Philip made these arrangements before leaving to join the Third Crusade. In a gift that signalled Philip's friendship with the Cistercians, he granted the monks of Clairvaux 'his chapel, the portable sacred equipment he was planning to take with him on Crusade, only to receive it back from them in gift'.[119] These included; candelabra, basins and flasks in silver, a golden chalice, liturgical vestments, altar cloths, and a cross. Two other crosses are mentioned, one to be taken with him on crusade, and the other to be passed on to

[115] 1205, s. 18, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 311. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation'. My emphasis.
[116] J., Hall, 'The Legislative Background to the Burial of Laity and Other Patrons in Cistercian Abbeys' *Citeaux: commentarii cistercienses,* 56, 1 (2005) pp. 363-72, p. 368, C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux* (Citeaux Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et documenta 9, Citeaux, 1999), p. 145.
[117] Coomans, 'Cistercian Nuns and Princely Memorials' p. 690.
[118] Ibid., p. 690.
[119] N. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the Middle Ages,* (Ithaca, 2012), p. 118.

his descendants. The chapels continuing significance to Philip's successors was demonstrated by the visits of his nephew Baldwin and grandson Guy of Dampierre before their participation in crusades in 1202 and 1270.[120]

The exact location of the chapel is unclear; Figure 6 shows the altar tombs of Malachy (I), Bernard (II), and SS Eutropius, Zosima and Bonosa. The numbers refer to the altars, to the Virgin, apostles, Holy Trinity, martyrs and bishop confessors. The letters indicate ecclesiastical burials that date from the 1150s to the 1580s.[121] The third church of Clairvaux was begun at least by 1154 and was probably planned before Bernard's death. The count of Flanders' chapel, arranged in 1190, could therefore have sat amongst the tombs shown below. The traditions of the community at Clairvaux held that within the *filacterium* included in Philip's gift, were 'wood of the Holy Cross, the sponge, the thorns, and the manger' that had previously belonged to Robert II of Flanders.[122] These relics would have fit with those held at the altar of the Saviour or St Cross (numbers 6 and 16 in respectively).

[120] Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, p. 149.
[121] A. Gajewski, 'Burial, Cult and Construction of the Abbey Church at Clairvaux (Clairvaux II)' *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cisterciensis* 56 (2005) pp. 47-84, p. 49.
[122] Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps,* p. 118.

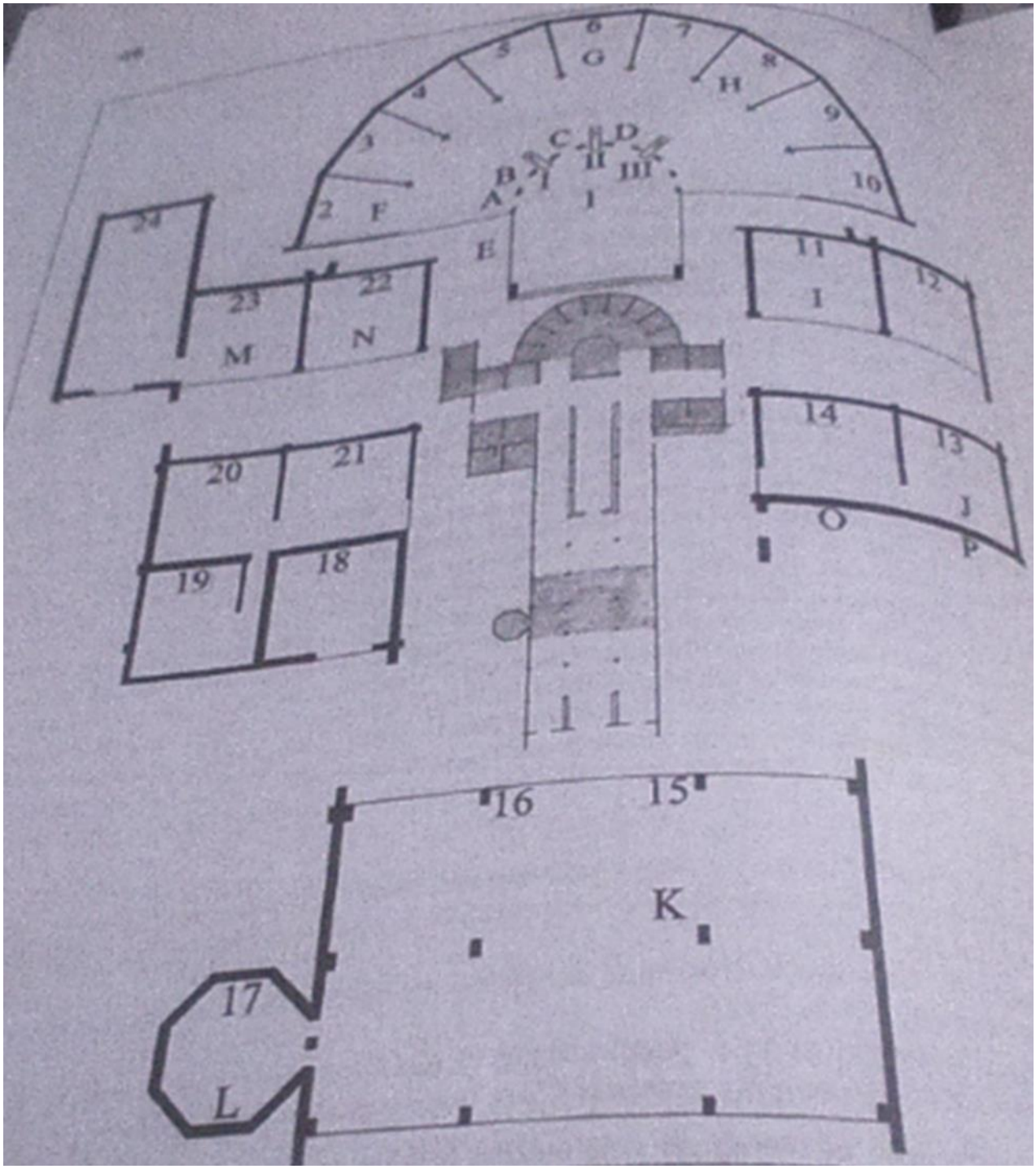

Figure 6 Altars and Ecclesiastical Tombs in the Abbey Church of Clairvaux according to medieval and post-medieval sources.

The change of location of a burial could be affected by the provision of a beneficial settlement for the original house. Guillaume de Joigny had intended to be buried at the Premonstratensian house of Dilo and stated this wish in a charter in 1179. At his death in 1221, however, the Cluniac priory of Joigny claimed his body for the comital foundation where his forebears were buried. The dispute was not resolved until Joigny provided a beneficial settlement for the canons, who also added a memorial to Guillaume and his siblings on their mother's tomb at Dilo.[123] It is not noted in the statutes whether such a settlement was required to encourage the monks of Mazieres to return Alexander's body to Cîteaux.

The case of the irregular burial of the Duke of Lorraine was first noted at the General Chapter in 1214. The abbot of Clairlieu was found to have buried the duke in his church, despite the duke's wish to be buried at Sturzelbronn. The abbot was sentenced to six days of light penance with two on bread and water, and was required to allow the abbot of Sturzelbronn to take the body when he wished.[124] This sanction was not enforced; in 1215 the abbot and convent of Clairlieu were ordered to return the body by the Octave of Easter, under threat of interdict.[125] In 1216 this was repeated. The Chapter ordered that if the duke's body was not returned by the feast of the Blessed Martin:

> then the abbot of Clairlieu, the prior and cellarers and all officials […] are to fast three days a week on bread and water. The rest […] are to undergo the aforesaid penance on Wednesdays and Fridays until they have fulfilled the order of the General Chapter.[126]

By 1217 the Chapter was aware that Mass had been celebrated at Clairlieu despite the interdict, and that the monastery retained the body. The abbot was deposed, the prior, subprior and other

[123] A. G. Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Counties and England* (University Park, PA, 2000), p. 23.
[124] 1214, s. 21, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 422, Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 388.
[125] 1215, s. 26, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 439, Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 390.
[126] 1216, s. 7, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, pp. 450-1, Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 390.

officials were transferred to other houses, and the interdict remained in place. If they were obedient from this point on, the General Chapter determined that they were to be allowed to remain at Clairleiu, with 'their punishment at the judgement of the father abbot'.[127] This did not end the matter, and in 1218 the Chapter ordered the abbots of Trois-Fontaines, Auberive and Montier-en-Argonne to go to Clairlieu and discover whether the body of the duke had been translated to Sturzelbronn as they understood:

> The prior and cellarer, however, who, it is said, told the duke and duchess that they still have possession of the aforesaid duke's body, to the dishonour and scandal of the whole order, are to be sent to Cîteaux to be punished according to the judgement of [the abbot of] Cîteaux.[128]

By 1219 the Chapter deemed the matter settled and threatened anyone who raised the matter again.[129] These penalties, particularly for the subprior, demonstrate the concern for appearances and the reputation of the order. It is not clear why the subprior continued to claim the Clairlieu possessed the duke's body after its translation to Sturzelbronn.[130]

In these instances of antagonism, we can see individual abbeys competing with each other, with other orders, and with cathedral chapters.[131] However, the Chapter strove to maintain good relations between house of the Order and outsiders, requiring the permission of parish

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[127] 1217, s. 75, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 482, Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 392.
[128] 1218, s. 21, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 488. Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 392.
[129] 'If anyone from either of the two houses now brings the question up in General Chapter, if he is an abbot, he is to be deposed without reconsideration, and if a monk, to be sent from that house, only to return with the permission of the GC. The subprior however, through whom the house has been defamed, is never to be recalled'. 1219, s. 63, p. 516 (Canivez Vol 1), Hall, Sneddon, and Sohr, 'Table of Legislation', p. 394.
[130] Arbitrators were also appointed at Le Betton in 1216 and Foigny in 1243. At Le Betton the abbess had refused to return the body of a countess. The abbots of Hautecombe and Bonnevaux were tasked with ensuring the body was returned within a suitable time, and punishing the transgression (1216, s. 41, Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol 1, p. 458). The abbots of Beaubec and Froidmont were asked to go to Foigny, and unpick the dispute between the abbey and the chapter of Laon, concerning the burial of Lord Enguerrand. They were entrusted with the authority of the chapter to proceed as far as the final judgement (1243, s. 29, Canivez, *Statuta,* Vol 1, p. 264). In both cases the arbitrators were asked to return to the following chapter and declare what had been done to settle the matter. There are no related statutes from 1217 and 1244 indicating the outcomes of these disputes. Given the long-running battle at Clairlieu, it seems reasonable to suggest that these issues were resolved in a more timely fashion and did not require so many interventions.
[131] For further examples, see Williams, 'Layfolk within Cistercian Precincts', pp. 104-5.

priests before pursuing a lay burial, for example. The importance of maintaining these connections with important patrons was more pressing than the rhetoric which had originally excluded lay burials. This public competition for founders' remains is at odds with the principle of burial outlined in the statutes and codifications of the order. This is interesting when the audience for the detail of the statutes is considered. The principles of the Order would have been more widely known, but occasionally 'kings, princes, bishops, even popes visited ''those most holy assemblies'', sometimes in person, often by letter'.[132] It is possible that in the presence of outsiders, the *definitorium*, the group charged with formulating the decisions of the chapter, may have felt a stronger line against irregular burials was warranted, and that this pressure affected the penances distributed, even if they were not effectively enforced. The statutes are records of discussions the Chapter wanted known, their attempt to manage lay expectations of access to their cults and monasteries. The limited powers of enforcement held by the Chapter will be discussed in Chapter Six.

The other situation which demonstrates importance attributed to possessing founders' bones was treatment of remains when the monastery had to move site. A move could involve a minor distance; Cîteaux moved a short distance during the abbacy of Alberic, from La Forgeotte to a site one mile south. La Forgeotte was kept as a grange.[133] In other cases the moves were more drastic; the community of Byland abbey was previously at Calder, Hood, Old Byland and Stocking.[134] These moves could be due to geographical issues. As Kinder notes, Cistercian abbeys tended to be founded in valleys, where 'rivers flooded, their beds meandered, and the quantity of water may have varied too greatly with the seasons'.[135] The communities of

[132] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 9, Citing Dom Martene, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, T. IV (Parisiss, 1717), p. vii.
[133] T. N., Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 82.
[134] M. Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, 1993, online edition 2012).
[135] Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p. 81.

Kingswood, Bindon, Beaulieu, and Strata Florida moved to secure a better water supply. The monks of Kirkstall, Salley, Jervaulx, Croxden, and Stoneleigh moved due to 'unsatisfactory climatic conditions'.[136] In 1296 the General Chapter noted the community of Franquevaux Abbey in southern France had to move because, it was said, of the 'intolerably bad air'.[137] Flooding forced the monks of Louth Park, Thame, Whalley, Furness, and Vaudey to abandon their original sites.[138] The community of Stanlow moved to Whalley in 1296 after flooding in 1279, gales that destroyed the church tower in 1287, and damage from a fire in 1289.

Disputes with local landowners could also prompt a change in site. The community that settled at Øm had tried sites at Sabro and Sminge, where the soil was too poor for farming, before being granted land at Veng. Here disputes with Lady Margrethe made the foundation untenable. Owning a third of the land otherwise granted to the monks, she wanted the property for her own foundation. Despite appeals to the king, the monks were forced to move again. At Kalvo they found the winters too harsh and the site difficult to access, and settled at Øm.[139]

The commemoration of founders was an important aspect of Cistercian engagement with the lay world. Their ideal of reform did not lead to suspension of relations with the world, but a reconfiguration of them. Each move prompted the question of what to do with the founders buried at the original site. Sternberg notes 'lay burials did not constitute a passive or minor physical presence in a church, since burial came with a regular cycle of dedicated prayers and services'.[140] Rituals for the dead had a role in confirming social ties and were liturgical reflections of deeper senses of identity. The context of intimate relationships was important for

[136] Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*.
[137] Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p. 83.
[138] Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*.
[139] B. P. McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity at Øm Abbey: A Cistercian Experience in Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1976), p. 37.
[140] M. Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society* (Leiden, 2013), p. 189.

negotiations that resulted in prayers for the dead.[141] Lay burials were not singular events, but part of a long-term relationship that involved groups rather than individuals; gifts to a community were approved by the donor's relatives, over a period of time. Graves containing more than one translation have been found. At the abbey of St Mary Rushen on the Isle of Man, a stone-lined cist was discovered in the centre of the choir. It contained the remains of a wooden chest, shorter than a coffin, and smaller than the cist. Inside were the remains of three adult individuals. Butler noted outside the box, on the north side, 'a small gilt-bronze chain was found, possible from a cloak or set of scales'.[142]

The transferal of founders' bones could be prompted by surviving relations, as happened at Jervaulx. The patronal family was still involved with their foundation and were concerned to retain the eschatological benefits of their association with the community. The transferal of bones could also be undertaken by the community in the absence of surviving descendants. In this case, this display of constancy could be important as a 'demonstration that the community was maintaining its promise of commemoration'.[143] This leads us to ask who this demonstration was for. While the presence of the tomb served as a physical reminder of the founder to the monastic community, the public dimension of such a move seems to be directed at a wider lay audience as well. Such continued care for the memory of the founders must have been reassuring for the abbey's other patrons.

The monks of the abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx were originally members of the Congregation of Savigny. Their turbulent history, the establishment of four sites, their struggle with local landowners, and disputes about filiation, are recorded in the *Historia Fundationis*. The *Historia* was written by Philip, the third abbot of Byland, in 1197. It is a combination of

[141] M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (London, 1994), p. 16.
[142] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, p. 198. See also L. Butler 'The Cistercian abbey of St Mary of Rushen (Isle of Man) excavations 1978-9', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 141 (1988), pp. 60-104, p. 74
[143] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 57.

narrative and documentary material, with charters and letters inserted throughout. Through the *Historia* Philip aimed to create a multi-layer identity for the community. He chose the inserted material and stories carefully, and utilised motifs common in Cistercian literature. Burton lists these motifs as; pioneering monks who overcome early difficulties, affiliation with the Order, association with a lay patron, the consolidation of monastic estates, and Marian associations.[144] In this way, Philip 'aligned his narrative with Cistercian historical literature'.[145]

The circumstances of the foundation affected the community's feelings towards the founders and subsequent decision to move the bones. In addition to the grant of wood and involvement in the building process, Alan of Richmond was 'crucial to the acceptance of the new house by Savigny, calling there on his way to Brittany in order to commend the new abbot'.[146] Questions of filiation were still a live issue for the community at the time of the *Historia's* composition. Alan's intervention was necessary as for two years Serlo, the abbot of Savigny, had refused the foundation at Fors. Following the acceptance of the new community, this adversity became part of the foundation narrative. Filiation was 'central to the Cistercian way of life and identity', affecting visitation and precedence at the General Chapter.[147] The principle of annual visitation had been established as early as 1119 in the *Carta Caritatis Prior*,[148] and the importance of precedence is evident in incorporation negotiations. In 1200 the formally Benedictine house of Carracedo was assured of its antiquity of 65 years after joining the Order.[149] Questions about filiation were also important in light of the 1147 incorporation of the Congregation of Savigny, which was resisted by some houses, notably Furness. When

[144] J. Burton, 'Constructing a corporate identity: The *Historia Fundationis* of the Cistercian abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx' in A. Muller and K. Stober (eds.) *Self-representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context* (Berlin, 2009) pp. 327-340, p. 328.
[145] Ibid., p. 340.
[146] S. Speight, *Family, faith and fortification: Yorkshire 1066-1250*, (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham 1993) p. 137.
[147] Burton, 'Constructing a corporate identity', p. 332.
[148] Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, pp. 277, 445.
[149] Burton, 'Constructing a corporate identity', p. 332.

writing the *Historia* forty years later, Abbot Philip chose to highlight this web of relationships, demonstrating their continued importance to the community, and by extension, the role of Alan of Richmond.[150]

Jervaulx was founded at a site in Fors in 1144 by Ascarius FitzBardolph, a tenant of the honour of Richmond. His grant was confirmed by his lord, Alan of Richmond, who at this time added a grant of wood from his forest and asked to be present when the first building was erected. At this ceremony in 1145 Alan began to erode the rights of FitzBardolph as the founder of Jervaulx. Rather than limiting his involvement to the symbolic laying of a foundation stone, Alan 'declared he wanted to participate in the raising of the church with his own hands' and became regarded as a patron by the monks.[151] The earls of Richmond continued to support the abbey across several generations. The cartulary of Byland Abbey (Jervaulx's mother-house) states that Alan had sheltered the monks before the settlement at Fors. After the failure of the settlement his son, Conan (Conan IV, Duke of Brittany), arranged for their transfer to a new site, ten miles from Richmond.[152] Conan is not recorded as visiting England after 1164, but such a visit is plausible. At some point between 1160 and 1171 'he issued a charter to Jervaulx abbey, conferring upon the monks the burial of his body 'wherever he should die in England''.[153] In the event he died in Brittany on 20 February 1171, and was buried in the

[150] That issues of filiation continued to trouble the Savigniac houses is clear from the tension between the communities of Furness and Calder. Furness was Calder's mother house, but when the latter foundation collapsed in 1137, the former refused to shelter the refugee monks. This prompted a long-running debate about the responsibilities of the mother house toward its daughters. In 1141 the community of Hood asked to be placed directly under Savigny rather than Furness, and the tensions between Furness and the monks of Calder was inflamed in 1142-3 when they found a new site (Calder II) (Burton, 'Constructing a corporate identity', p. 333). In 1153 Furness and Byland were still questioning their affiliations, leading to arbitration by Aelred of Rievaulx, who decided for Savigny (Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, pp. 28-32).
[151] Speight, *Family, faith and fortification*, p. 137, pp. 178-9.
[152] Ibid., p. 296, W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* Volume 5, p. 568, C. T Clay, (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters,* no. 23.
[153] Speight, *Family, faith and fortification*, p. 264. C. T Clay, (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters,* no. 67 pp, 64-5.

Cistercian abbey of Begrad, though it is not clear where in the precinct. While not able to be buried at Jervaulx, he did choose another Cistercian house.

The inserted charters include a one of Hervey, son of Ascarius, allowing the transfer of the monks from Fors to Jervaulx, on condition:

> I [Hervey] shall share in the prayers and good deeds that are performed in the church of Jervaulx in perpetuity, and the monks will take away with them and reverently keep together the bones of my father and mother.[154]

The transfer of the monastery to a more auspicious site was possible due to the gift of the earl of Richmond, but Ascarius's role in the original foundation had not been forgotten. His son was still interested in the affairs of the abbey, and the commemoration of his parents. The monks were able to move to a more hospitable site, provided the bones of the founders were moved with them. In this way, they continued to commemorate the founders, and maintained their relationship with the surviving family members, who had since taken over as patrons.

Philip's decision to record the transfer of Ascaris's bones is interesting. Burton notes the date of composition for the *Historia,* and the absence of the founder's tomb at Byland. Byland's founder, Roger de Mowbray, departed on the Third Crusade in 1186, and died two years later. His son Nigel followed, and died in Acre in 1191. His son and successor, William, was less enthusiastic about Byland, attempting to reclaim previous grants. Philip used the opportunity of writing the foundation narrative to remind the current patrons of their obligations and the generosity of previous generations. Burton also stresses that as Roger had died in the Holy Land, his presence in the *Historia* served as his memorial.[155] It seems, that had the community had Roger's bones, they would have transferred them to the new site, in the same way that Jervaulx transferred Ascarius's.

[154] Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, p. 56.
[155] Burton, 'Constructing a corporate identity', p. 336.

At Cara Insula in Denmark (known as Øm Abbey), founders and early patrons received burial in the abbey, and the transfer of the monks to a new site similarly meant the transfer of their bones. The monks of Vistkol (founded 1158) began to look for a site for a daughter-house in 1165, though as mentioned previously it took seven years to find a permanent site for the community at Øm. Through this line, Øm was in Clairvaux's filiation. In 1207 the monks began the *Exordium Monasterii quod dicitur Cara Insula* (The Beginning of the Monastery called the Precious Island), which was similar to the *Exordium Parvum*.[156] This foundation account narrates the movements of the community, describes the early abbots and recounts the controversies of the 1250s and 1260s, when the community was in dispute with the bishop of Aarhus.[157] The *Exordium* focuses on bishop Svend of Aarhus as the abbey's primary benefactor; Gregersen argues this is a revaluation of the abbey's history based on the needs of the community in the thirteenth century.[158] This feeling of insecurity may lie behind the inclusion of so many episcopal, papal and royal charters.

Archaeological evidence, however, indicates the role of the other founders more briefly mentioned in the *Exordium* should be highlighted. Though Svend was considered by the thirteenth-century monks to be their primary donor (he was buried in the abbey church in front of the high altar in 1191, before the permanent buildings were established, after 1210),[159] the text states that when the monks moved from their site at Veng in 1168, they took the remains and bones of their founders with them to Kalvo.[160] These remains were of bishop Eskild, Svend's predecessor, Count Eric of the local aristocracy, and others. The remains of all of these

[156] Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order,* p. 129.
[157] B. Gregersen, 'The Foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Cara Insula in Denmark: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Early Donors and Medieval Burials', *Citeaux: commentarii cistercienses*, 56, 1 (2005), pp. 337-352, p. 337.
[158] Ibid., p. 340.
[159] Ibid., p. 346.
[160] Ibid., p. 344. B. P. McGuire, *Conflict and Continuity: A Cistercian Experience in Medieval Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1976), notes other instances of burials in the Øm Book that have been corroborated by archaeological evidence p. 64.

founders were taken to the permanent foundation at Cara Insula, buried in the first abbey church or the later buildings.

As with the community at Jervaulx, this continuing care for the remains and bones of the founders is important. While in the case of the founders of Jervaulx this move was specified by the descendants, such a demonstration of constancy could be important if there was no such continuity of descendants to insist on such a continuation of commemoration.[161] The continued commemoration of a founder who had played an important role in early disputes became especially important if contemporary patrons were less interested and active on the behalf of the monastic community. Continued possession of the remains seems to have functioned as an aide memoire to the house's history and possessions.

Though the moves do not appear to have been treated as *translatios*, they were remembered. While the event of the translation of a founder-saint's bones was memorialised, the translation of a lay founder's bones was more likely to be commemorated via the inclusion of charters in a cartulary or recorded in the community's chronicle. The moves were commemorated in that relevant charters were kept or copied into cartularies and foundation narratives. The context of the creation of foundation narratives are thus important as to why the founder's role is stressed. Looking at the communities that had to change site, it does not appear that the combined circumstance of the pressure to relocate and possession of the founder's body occurred often.[162]

[161] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 57.
[162] For example Byland, Jervualx, Melrose, Kingswood, Bindon, Beaulieu, Strata Florida, Croxden.

Conclusion

Twelfth- and thirteenth- century Cistercian houses commemorated their lay patrons and benefactors. As the attitude to lay pilgrimage and the place of relics in hagiography and exempla suggest, such commemoration was a source of tension with their stated desire for social isolation. The burial and commemoration of both monastic personnel and lay patrons can aid the examination of Cistercian attitudes towards relics by differentiating between whose remains were, and were not, venerated. The placement of burials in relation to shrines is also suggestive of how sacred and secular matter were distinguished; developing, enforcing, and demarking the distinction between saints and other important burials. Through Cistercian lay burials it is possible to see a community's negotiation between their inward- and outward- looking inclinations.

The requests of lay patrons for *ad sanctos* burials indicate the external perceptions of Cistercian saints. When excluded from the church, patrons sought to be buried in spaces known for their commemorative function, near locally-venerated abbots or relics, or perhaps in entrance ways with liminal associations. Patrons valued contact with the monastic community; as Jamroziak has argued, 'it was not only the interment of the body, but also prayers, commemoration, and tombs and other monuments that formed the Cistercian approach to the dead who were allowed to enter monastic space.'[163] These connections allowed the patrons access to a restricted space and eschatological advantages. In their enclosed burial practices it is evident that the Cistercians performed their sense of difference for their patrons and lay outsiders.

The importance communities could place on their relationships with founders and patrons was demonstrated through instances of competition for burials and the transferal of bones when

[163] Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders*', p. 87.

a community moved site. Lay presence in the monastic precinct can help us to understand the audiences for tombs, in addition to the brethren and the saint, and suggest why some locations were more sought after. A physical reminder of the need to remember their patrons, lay tombs also demonstrated an individual's connection to an abbey.

Overall the decisions Cistercian communities made about their treatment of the remains of deceased brethren and patrons reflected their attempts to create their own communities of the sacred. Access to this community was restricted, along the same lines that were evident in the Order's hagiography and exempla collections. This chapter has shown the decisions communities made about lay burials were specific to their context, from the importance of the gifts that could accompany a request for burial at a smaller house like Sallay, to the continuing relationships with important families at Clairvaux. There was a selective engagement with the outside world.

Chapter Six

Ad formam ordinis: The regulation of devotion by the General Chapter

The statutes of the General Chapter from the twelfth century are evidence for the internal workings of the Order, the relationships between abbeys, the concerns of various abbots, and the responses of the monks to external changes. The universal nature of these texts and legislation allow overarching themes to be discerned regardless of local peculiarities. At first consisting of Cîteaux, La Ferté, Pontigny, Morimond and Clairvaux, the assembly grew to reflect the international character of the Order. The Chapter consigned its decisions to writing in the form of statutes.[1] The abbots who had attended were obligated to return to their monasteries with a copy of the 'general definitions'; the decisions with import for the whole Order.[2] This process, coupled with the annual visitations, was intended to ensure decisions and rules were communicated throughout the Order, and encourage uniformity between monasteries.

This chapter will ask what the statutes can tell us about Cistercian attitudes to sacred material, through direct references to relics and reliquaries, and comments on monastic pilgrimage and lay incursions into the precinct. The bureaucratic documents are crucial for evaluating the development of these monasteries as a cohesive order, as Cistercian identity was linked to organisation. Repeated references to specific infractions demonstrate both the

[1] C. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter. Latin text with English Notes and Commentary* (*Studia et Documenta* 12. *Cîteaux*: *Commentarii Cistercienses*. Kalamazoo, 2002). All references to statutes will come from this edition, in the format of 'year, statute number, page number' p. 14. This edition contains the statutes dated up to 1201. Later statutes are taken from J. M., Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 annum 1786* (8 volumes) (Louvain, 1933-41).
[2] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 15.

continuing concerns of the abbots present and their attempts to maintain a level of uniformity, and problems with the Chapter's enforcement mechanisms.

The statutes replicate the Order's anxiety about the standardisation of liturgical practice and discipline, evident in the other sources considered in this thesis. Such shared interests are not surprising given the references to the General Chapter as a place to exchange stories in the exempla collections. The *DM*, for example, notes several instances of stories being circulated among the abbots present.[3] In one case the content was so serious the abbot of Cîteaux requested it be told in place of a sermon; two monks had sinner together, then made their confessions to each other.[4] Travelling to the meeting also presented the opportunity to share stories and concerns, and Caesarius mentions learning about several events this way.[5]

Following an introduction to the twelfth-century statutes and early narrative documents as a source for Cistercian devotional practice, this chapter will consider the evidence for a preoccupation with liturgical restraint, monastic stability, and lay access to relics. The importance of monastic and societal reform, and the tension between isolation and lay access, are evident in the sources written by individuals and the institution, indicating a shared Cistercian rhetoric. The references to the appropriate veneration of reliquaries, prohibitions of pilgrimage, and admonishments of abbots who built elaborate abbeys, align with the rhetoric in Bernard's writing and the exempla collections, and indicates at least a perceived problem in these areas.

There were, however, limits to the General Chapter's authority. The records of infractions and appeals to the papacy as a higher power demonstrate the individuality of some houses, and

[3] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM* 7.37, 9.38, 11.57.
[4] Ibid., 3.24.
[5] Ibid, 8.32, 7.58, 10.4.

the problems the Chapter faced when attempting to enforce its decisions. It will be argued that the variation in devotional practice, while still fitting into a broader Cistercian 'type' described in reference to Cistercian hagiography in Chapter Three, was made possible, and accepted by, the General Chapter. This was done largely by sanctioning the additions of locally important saints to specific abbey's calendars. Overall, the Chapter functioned as a meeting place for consensual government, more responsive than prescriptive, and pragmatic in the face of an expanding Order.

1. The sources

An introduction to the 'primitive documents' and the debate surrounding their dating is crucial for the following discussion of the contents of the statutes and purview of the General Chapter.[6] The range in potential dates affects our understanding of the content, and their reading in relation to the other sources discussed in this thesis. Both of these considerations are important for interpreting the evolution of Cistercian self-identity as related to sacred matter. The early documents include the *Exordium Cistercii*, a brief narrative history of events in the Order up to 1115, the *Exordium Parvum,* which relates the history of Cîteaux, and the *Carta Caritatis*, which reduced the abbot's discretionary authority, mandating annual meetings and visitations.[7] The liturgical regulations for the Order are contained in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*,[8] the customs for lay brothers in the *Usus Conversorum*.[9]

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[6] The following abbreviations will be used throughout. *Exordium Cistercii* (EC), *Exordium Parvum* (EP), *Carta Caritatis* (CC), *Ecclesiastica Officia* (EO), *Usus Conversorum* (US).

[7] For recent editions of these texts see C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, (*Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses, Studia et documenta* 9, Cîteaux, 1999).

[8] For a recent edition see *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du xii siecle*, ed. D. Choisselet and P. Vernet (Reinigue, 1989). A recent translation into English, with a useful glossary, is available; *The Ancient Usages of the Cistercian Order* (ed.) M. Cawley (Lafayette, OR, 1998).

[9] C. Waddell*, Cistercian Lay-Brothers: Twelfth-Century Usages with Related Texts*, (Brecht, 2000), pp. 51-78 for an edition of the *Usages*, and see pp. 164-95 for an English translation.

The variety of documents in which the Cistercians transmitted their own sense of their distinctiveness suggests a shared sense of identity regardless of the dates of the narrative documents. The debate surrounding their dating remains significant, however, affecting the reading of the statutes from the General Chapter. A more gradual development of the administrative structures and the flexibility of the Order to local conditions might suggest that the Chapter was more responsive to the concerns brought forward by abbots, than a vehicle for the imposition of the authority of the abbot of Cîteaux. The statutes can thus be read as records of the negotiation of consensual government and evidence of a developing Cistercian identity built around liturgical simplicity and relic occlusion.

An 1185 statute indicates how the statutes were drawn up. The president of the Chapter, the abbot of Cîteaux, one of the first four abbots (chosen on a rotating basis), and two other abbots qualified as 'more discerning', formed a committee responsible for 'formulating the *definitiones* resulting from the capitular interventions and discussions'.[10] The eventual statute was based upon a discussion that had occurred in a larger group. Whether the two 'more discerning' abbots remained the same throughout the current chapter or varied between work-sessions is not clear. This group created the official formulation of the statute, and perhaps set the precise penances for individual culprits and assigned abbots to adjudicate in particular disputes. By 1197 the committee had grown to include all of the first four fathers and an unspecified number of *definitors*, chosen by the abbot of Cîteaux, but at the recommendation of the first four abbots, from their respective filiations.[11] This description suggests that opinions

[10] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 16. '*Qui presidet capitulo semper unum teneat de IIII primis abbatibus in capitulo, modo unum, modo alterum, per diversa spacia diei dum difiniciones fiunt, et duos de aliis discrecioribus'.*
[11] Ibid., p. 17. '*Cum Dominus abbas cisterciensis volverit diffinitores eligere, non ex debito necessitates sed ex bono pacis et charitatis, inquirat a quatuor primis abbatibus simul vel sigillatim, prout ei placverit. Et quos singuli eorum de deriuacione sua magis idoneos perspexerint ad hoc opus; et audito responso illorum, quos Dominus cisterciensis de nominatis ad hoc opus utilitores perspexerit assumat; ipse quoque quatuor primos abbates et de aliis filiabus suis quos magis discretos et aemulatores ordinis cognoverit assumat'.*

were sought from representatives from all filiations before statutes were issued, and that the Chapter's opinions were not static.

Since 2000 Constance Berman and Chrysogonus Waddell have debated the dating of these documents.[12] Berman has argued most of these texts were written in the 1160s and 1170s to reconstruct earlier history according to current ideals and circumstances. She suggested that the *CC* dated from 1165, and that the *EP* and *EC* were composed subsequently. In this reading, the Order was initially more of a loose affiliation of both male and female houses.[13] These 'pre-' and 'proto-' Cistercian reform communities did not exist within an administrative structure until between 1150 and 1190.[14] While Berman's point about the importance of incorporation in the growth of the Order has been well-received, her re-dating has been questioned. In contrast to Berman, Waddell has maintained the same documents were composed and revised over the first half century of Cistercian monasticism.[15] His argument is convincing, and on a more basic level,

[12] For this debate see C. H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000); C. Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C.H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources', *Cîteaux: Commentari Cistercienses,* 51 (2000) pp. 299-386; M. Newman, 'Review of The Cistercian Evolution by C. H. Berman' *The Catholic Historical Review* 87.2 (2001) pp. 315-316.
[13] Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, p. 93.
[14] Ibid., p. 102. Berman's definitions of these terms relates to the different stages she sees in the expansion of the twelfth-century reform movement, 'It is useful to describe the many dispersed communities of this independent reform movement, in regions beyond Burgundy, those that eventually became incorporated into a Cistercian Order, as houses of 'pre-Cistercians' up to the time when they began to adopt Cistercian customs; thereafter, they might be described as 'proto-Cistercians''.
[15] Stephen Harding is suggested as the author of at least part of the *EP* in 1113, and the earliest version of the *CC* was confirmed by Calixtus II in 1119 (C. Holdsworth suggests that Stephen Harding wrote the entire EP; 'Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: A Review Article', *Cîteaux,* 51 (2000) pp. 157-166). Waddell attributed both the *EC* and *Summa Cartae Caritatis* to abbot Raynard de Bar of Cîteaux, written after the death of Stephen Harding in 1134. The Cistercian customary was revised in 1147 following the liturgical reforms, and 1152 after Eugenius III's confirmation of a new version of the CC (For background on the liturgical reform see C. Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1984), J. Kerr, 'An Essay on Cistercian Liturgy', *The Cistercians in Yorkshire Project*, esp. pp. 13-14. D. R. Miller, *Sing a New Song: The Spirit of Cistercian Liturgical Reform and the 1147 Hymnal* (Unpublished MA thesis, Central European University, 2017), pp. 39-44). Waddell hypothesised that the *EC* is the earlier text, linked to the revision of the *EO*, perhaps composed 40 years after the foundation of Cîteaux. The *EP* is a later version of an earlier text, perhaps with some sections written around 1113 and additions around 1147 (*NLT*). In this case the revision came at the same time as the incorporation of other monastic groups, such as Savigny. This is not to say that Cistercian practices were different before this editorial intervention; comments made by Benedictine commentators suggest that in the 1120s and 1130s the Cistercians were already seen 'as the upholders of the Rule in its primitive form' (J. E. Burton and J. Kerr (ed) *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011) p. 15, referring to the comments of William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis). It is possible that these texts 'travelled almost exclusively as part of the Cistercian customary, the guide

the absence of earlier manuscripts does not preclude their previous existence.[16] Waddell's 1999 edition of the statutes up to 1201 presented them as layered compositions, revised over time.

Several of Bernard's letters demonstrate the authority vested in the General Chapter and the abbot of Cîteaux.[17] The letter written to the 'abbots assembled at Cîteaux', dated to 1137, implies the existence of the General Chapter.[18] In letters to other Cistercians, such as the abbot of Morimond, or his nephew Robert who left for the more relaxed lifestyle of Cluny, and to outsiders such as Peter the Venerable, Bernard displayed an awareness of Cistercian difference. He also assumed the right of interference in the affairs of his daughter-houses.[19] The letter to Robert is entirely concerned with the differences between the different ways of life in Cistercian and Clunaic monasteries.[20] Newman noted references to administrative structures in letters from the mid-1130s in which Peter the Venerable 'complains of a papal privilege that clearly exempted from tithes more Cistercian monasteries than just Clairvaux and its affiliates'.[21]

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to liturgical and organizational practice' (J. Van Engen, 'Review of The Cistercian Evolution by C. H. Berman' *Speculum* 79, 2, (2004) pp. 452-455). The needs of these newly incorporated houses may have provided the impetus for the order's recording and clarifying of customs, whereas previously the first abbots of the Order may have been confident in the processes of the Chapter and visitation for maintaining discipline and conformity.

[16] In his review, Waddell criticises Berman's understanding of monastic terminology, and her access to a restricted number of manuscripts. He dismantles Berman's later dating of the manuscripts and finds flaws in her claim that the papal bull *Ad hoc in apostolicae* and Cîteaux tithe privilege *Habitantes in domo* were forgeries. In a related argument, Waddell disagrees with Berman's attempt to date the Cistercian-Premonstratensian *Charter of Fellowship and Peace* from 1142 to the 1170s. See Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins', pp. 299-386; especially at pp. 301-2, p. 303, pp. 304-6, pp. 317-27, pp. 327-40, pp. 340-52.

[17] B. P. McGuire, 'Monastic and Religious Orders' in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100–c.1500* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 54-72.

[18] '*Ab abates Cistercii congregatos'*. Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 45, *SBO Vol. VII, Epostlae, 1. Corpus Epistolarum, 1-180,* (eds.) J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1974).

[19] B. P. McGuire, 'Bernard's concept of a Cistercian Order: Vocabulary and Context', *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses,* 54, 3-4 (2003) pp. 225-49. For a more detailed discussion of Bernard of Clairvaux's letters, see Chapter One of this thesis.

[20] B. P. McGuire, 'Charity and Unanimity: The Invention of the Cistercian Order. A Review Article', *Cîteaux*: *Commentarii cistercienses*, 51 (2000) pp. 285-97, p. 293.

[21] M. Newman, 'Review of *The Cistercian Evolution* by C. H. Berman' *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, 2 (2001) pp. 315-316.

As Newman has pointed out, an order exists in more than the documents it leaves behind, encompassing the quotidian practices and communal memory of its members.[22] While the General Chapter may have developed gradually from a monastic chapter in the 1150s to a legislative body in the 1190s, the more nebulous values of charity and unanimity and the sense of the Order as a way of life and common identity maintained by regular contact was present far earlier. Other early contemporaries were aware of the expansion of the Order. William of Malmesbury referred to the 'Cistercian religion' (*religio cistellensis*).[23] Orderic Vitalis wrote, 'It is now 37 years since Abbot Robert founded Cîteaux, in the way I have described, and in that time such a great multitude of men has flocked there that 65 abbeys have been founded from it, all of which with their abbots are subject to the chief abbot of Cîteaux'.[24] While none of these examples proves the existence of a General Chapter in the 1130s and 1140s, they do suggest contemporary writers were aware of regular meetings, and a group of monasteries following a set of customs.[25] A sense of hierarchy was evident in the process of visitation mandated by the *CC.* It stated 'Let the abbot of the *senior* church visit once a year all the monasteries he has founded'.[26] The procedure became more formal over time, as seen in the *Instituta* for 1180/1184. The provision for visitation then allowed the senior abbot to send a delegate in his stead, necessary as the Order acquired more distant foundations.[27]

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[22] E. Freeman, 'What Makes a Monastic Order? Issues of Methodology in The Cistercian Evolution', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly,* 37, 4 (2002), pp. 429-442, p. 429.
[23] *Gesta Regum Anglorum* Vol. 4 PL 179: 1286, *'Ejus deibus religio Cistellensis coepit, quae nunc optima via in coelom processuss et creditor et dictur'.* 'In those days the Cistercian religion began, which now is believed and said to be the best way of getting to heaven', Translation from McGuire, 'Charity and Unanimity', pp. 294-5.
[24] '*quae omnes cum abbatibus suius Cisterciensis archimandritae subiacent'. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* vol 4 (books 6 and 7) (ed.) M. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1973) p. 325.
[25] Canivez, *Statuta*. Canivez's dating of some of the earlier decrees has, however, been challenged, see C. Waddell, 'Towards a new provisional edition of the Statutes of the Cistercian General Chapter, c. 1119-1198', in *Studiosorum Speculum: Studies in Honour of Louis J. Lekai,* (ed.) F. R. Swietek and J. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993), pp. 384-419.
[26] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 41. My emphasis.
[27] Ibid., p. 41.

There is evidence for varying interpretations of the statutes in different monasteries. The collections of capitular decisions are in no way 'word for word copies of the statutes formulated by the abbot of Cîteaux and his *definitors*'.[28] While some are more-or-less faithful copies of decisions as formulated, other collections are based on personal notes made by individual abbots who attended the Chapter; choices of which statutes to include and literary expressions thus vary from manuscript to manuscript.[29] The variation in these records, and the evidence of differing priorities between abbeys, indicates the statutes did not circulate in a static form, but were edited and recopied as needed. Waddell notes that in some instances we can see 'corrections' made by later scribes, evidence of alternate word choice, but transmitting the same text, or selecting which statutes to record based on later concerns. Other manuscripts are the result of official *retractatio,* a 'systematic editorial revision and updating of decisions from earlier period'.[30] Here we have the final versions of texts, but cannot see how the original decisions were formulated. This matters because it is evidence of local interpretation of central discussions, rather than uniform transmission from a central body.

Overall it appears there was an early investment in the projection of a coherent common identity but issues in its implementation. The Chapter had to manage the tension between a centralising corporate identity and the practicalities of local conditions, demonstrated in the preceding chapter in relation to irregular burials. This is an important consideration for this thesis' research questions. Cistercian attitudes to sacred matter were self-consciously different to those of their contemporaries. Within this developing corporate identity certain key ideas

[28] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 18.
[29] For more faithful copies see BNF1 (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, Ms lat. 12169), Ars3 (Paris, bibliotheque d'Arsenal, Ms 926 (27 H.L)), Lil, (Lille, Archives departmentales du Nord, Ms 27 H n. 70), Luz1, (Luzern, Staatsarchiv Ms KU 544/1, pp. 1-290). For collections based on personal notes see Isi, (San Isidoro, Bibliotheca, MS 1), Lao, (Laon, Bibliotheque municipal, Ms 471), Tro1, (Troyes, Bibliotheque municipal, Ms 1599). For discussion of these manuscripts, Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes* pp. 18-19, 48.
[30] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes* p. 19.

were recurring. These included the presentation of reliquaries, the limited access to be granted to lay pilgrims, and concerns about monastic stability. While there were evidently problems with enforcement, the Order did attempt to project a stable image to external viewers. This image would help to cement the idea of the Order as stricter than the Cluniacs, and increased the desirability of burial within their precincts.

2. Sacred objects and their surroundings

The statutes demonstrate an ongoing interest in the recognition of sanctity, through the liturgical programmes created, and the statutes governing the use and treatment of liturgical objects and their material surroundings. These statutes provide evidence of the regional specificity that the Chapter could sanction, for example allowing variation in the liturgical calendar. There is also evidence of deviation, when infractions related to object use or elaborate buildings are noted. I will argue that while there were few mentions of relics specifically, there was a consistent interest in liturgical simplicity and restraint. As will be covered below, discussion of relics, their translations and miracles, was more often confined to the institutional level.

The statutes provide a wealth of evidence for the recognition of sanctity leading to the creation of liturgical programmes which could be regionally specific. Liturgies were reflective of monastic identity. In a study of the Italian abbey of Farfa, Boynton emphasised the centrality of the liturgy in monastic life, and demonstrated the connections between the writing of the abbey's chronicle and its changing liturgy.[31] The liturgy was thus flexible, and adapted to respond to the monastery's changing circumstances. Boynton suggests a range of factors which could be regionally specific, including the degree of solemnity accorded to individual feasts,

[31] S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa 1000-1125* (Ithaca, NY, 2006).

the saints venerated, the selection and ordering of chants, readings, and prayers, the repertoires of sung poetry for the Mass and Offices, and itineraries for processions.[32] The liturgy was both the product and performance of the monastery's corporate identity. Its practice connected the abbey to other communities and lay benefactors, who responded to the 'symbolic and salvific power of the monks' psalmody'.[33]

A 1185 statute reminds us that though the feast of St Thomas Becket (29 December) was adopted by the Cistercians as soon as it entered the general calendar of the church, and had for some time been celebrated with two masses by English Cistercians, 'for Cistercians elsewhere only a single conventual Mass of St Thomas was permitted'.[34] In 1190 two masses were prescribed for the rest of the Order, 'the matutinal Mass being that of the Octave of Christmas, the principal Mass being that of the martyred archbishop'.[35] These statutes acknowledge different levels of celebration for a saint recognised by houses throughout the Order, with more prominent celebrations for St Thomas occurring in England.

St Thomas had had a complicated relationship with the Order during his dispute with King Henry, and the Order suffered for its participation in the struggle.[36] The tension within the Order was exacerbated by Thomas' sojourn at Pontigny (1164-66) and the king's response. While in exile Thomas adopted Cistercian habits, wearing a white woollen habit sent by Alexander III and following the community's diet.[37] The community at Pontigny grew fond of their guest and

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[32] Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, p. 4.
[33] Ibid., p. 4.
[34] 1185 s. 11, p. 125. '*In festivitate sancti thome martiris anglis ab olim concesse sunt due misse ceteris una'*
[35] 1190 s. 63, p. 234. '*In festo Sancti Tomae Cantuariensis fiant duae Missae, ita ut matutinalis sit de Nativitate Domini, illa, scilicet, quae intermittebatur'*
[36] For an in-depth study of the Becket Controversy see F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* (London, 1986). For the Order's involvement see pp. 119-20, 123, 127, 144-5, 157, 162, 184.
[37] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* 7 vols., (eds.) J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard (London, 1875-7). Vol II, *'Nam non multo post una facierum in tumorem versa usque ad interiores fauces computruit, et in morbum quem fistulam dicunt tumor excrevit. Diutius autem hac passione laborans non multa molestia et dolore extractis inde duobus ossibus demum sanatus est.'*

one monk, Roger, produced a *vita* following the prelate's death.[38] Abbot Geoffrey of Clairvaux, however, was close to King Henry and concerned about the impact of the controversy on the Order, and recommended to the abbot of Cîteaux that the archbishop be asked to leave Pontigny. To build up a base of support for future discussions at the General Chapter, Geoffrey first tried to persuade his community at Clairvaux. This attempt failed, and by 1165 Geoffrey had been deposed, despite the opposition of the abbot of Cîteaux.[39] The General Chapter decided to send Thomas a letter:

> The Chapter does not drive you out of their house because of this mandate, they only place it before you and your advisors that you may consider and decide what is to be done. Indeed, the entire Chapter is certain, and we are too, that your esteem for the Order is too great to permit any spiritual or temporal disaster to happen to it.[40]

After receiving this letter, Becket changed the site of his exile to the monastery of St Columba, near Sens. There followed several more years of exile, before, exasperated, Becket travelled to Clairvaux during Passion week in 1169. On Palm Sunday he used the high altar of the abbey church to announce the sentence of excommunication against ten of King Henry's trustees.[41]

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[38] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* Vol IV, pp. 1-79.

[39] L.A. Desmond, 'Becket and the Cistercians', *CCHA, Study Sessions*, 35 (1968), online, http://www.cchahistory.ca/journal/CCHA1968/Desmond.html [Accessed 16/08/18]

[40] *Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence: La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr,* ed. E. Walberg (Lund: Cleerup, 1922), lines 3710-3715.

Quant li abes Guarins as cel conseiloi,
K'um voleit l'arcevesque chaciet de Punteigni,
A l'abe de Cistaus fierement respundi:
< Par noz ordres, > fait il, < ne puet pas estre einsi,
Que nus chacum de nus pur ceo le Deu ami.

[41] Desmond, 'Becket and the Cistercians'. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Vol VI, pp. 543-57. The Order is also connected to the events following Becket's martyrdom at Canterbury. The abbot of Boxley was the individual who advised the corpse be moved from the transept to the crypt and supervised the preparations for internment (*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Vol VII, p. 403). The pope expressed his gratitude to the Order for sheltering Becket and issued letters of protection and confirmation to various English houses. Henry extended privileges to the houses within his territories and defrayed the cost of the new roof at the church of Clairvaux (A. A. King, *Cîteaux and her elder Daughters* (London, 1954), p. 254, n. 5, *Monasticon*, vol. V, pp. 404-405, 487-588, 604, 625, 633, 662).

The decision taken by Abbot Geoffrey to attempt to build up support in his community prior to a General Chapter discussion demonstrates the workings of the Chapter as a place of debate and dialogue. The controversy highlights the possibilities for tension and disagreement within an international Order with connections to the papacy, and the English and French courts. This complicated history with the saint contributed to the variation in his celebration, and contributes to the argument for a more nuanced view of the development of the General Chapter.[42]

In other instances, the decision to adapt the celebration of a specific feast was undertaken for more practical reasons. Differences in the celebration of feasts are seen in relation to that of St Nicomedes (15 September). As this coincided with the General Chapter, the celebration at Cîteaux differed to other houses. At the General Chapter the conventual Mass was a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit, and the Mass in honour of St Nicomedes was celebrated by a priest designated by the cantor. Elsewhere, the conventual Mass was that of St Nicomedes, while other priests celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit.[43] These changes then, were agreed for very practical reasons. The celebration of the feast of St Nicomedes was different at Cîteaux, to allow for the smoother running of the General Chapter.

Some monasteries were permitted to observe specific saints' feast days further to the two permitted in addition to the Cistercian calendar (the anniversary of the dedication of their own church, and the feast of the patron of the diocese). This is evidence of the General Chapter sanctioning variation in the liturgical calendar, and making exceptions for local conditions. In 1187 houses in the diocese of Poitiers were permitted a concession for the celebration of St Hilary, a fourth-century bishop of the area.[44] Similarly, in 1194 the monastery of Ourscamp was

[42] For an overview of the spread of veneration for St Thomas outside the Cistercian Order, see A. Duggan, 'The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the thirteenth century', *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour,* (ed.) M. Jancey (Hereford, 1982) pp. 21-44.
[43] 1186 s. 8, p. 134.
[44] 1187 s. 9, p. 146.

permitted to observe the additional commemoration of St Eloi (1 December). Though in the present-day diocese of Soissons, in the twelfth century Ourscamp was in the diocese of Noyon. Waddell notes that 'though not the patron saint of the cathedral, St Eloi, bishop of Noyon and Tournai, was chief among the regional saints venerated at Noyon'.[45] In these cases, the General Chapter recognised the importance of locally-venerated saints and sanctioned regional variations in the liturgical calendar.

More common than reference to relics specifically are comments and regulations about the use and decoration of liturgical objects and architecture. The absence of statutes relating to reliquaries prior to the 1180s may be due to accidents of survival, or could indicate that there were either no irregular practices or General Chapter interest in them. Given the rate of incorporation of both congregations and individual houses, the existence of varying practice seems likely. The absence of statutes then, may be due to a failure in the visitation system, or a lack of consistent interest on the part of the changing group of *definitors*. The Chapter appears reactive in nature, issuing statutes in relation to the problems put before it, rather than legislating to promote a particular agenda. Gajewski suggests Cistercian standards were broad and inclusive, perhaps to leave 'room for local building practices and technological changes', and implicitly relying on the expectation that communities would follow the Order's principles.[46]

There is evidence of the adaptation of expectations in the changing regulations. The patrons and benefactors of a monastery could exert influence on life within the house. The *EP* states that each community was to have one iron candlestick and thuribles of iron or copper. Liturgical vestments were not to contain silver or gold thread. By the thirteenth century more elaborate cloths were permitted provided they were donations.[47] A similar relaxation in the rules occurred

[45] 1194 s. 30, p. 293.
[46] Gajewski 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey', p. 77.
[47] Cazabonne, 'Liturgical Life as Art', p. 202.

in relation to altar vessels. These were to be made of silver or silver-gilt, though gold chalices, patens and fistulae were permitted if donated by benefactors. As early as 1157 a gold chalice had been donated to Mellifont by the wife of Tighernan O'Rourke.[48] These changes demonstrate the pragmatism of the Chapter and the extent to which variation in practice between houses was expected and sanctioned. Objects donated by powerful patrons could not be diplomatically refused, and the history of their donation would have been remembered along with their donation.[49]

The statutes regulating reliquary use include one from 1185, which states a reliquary should only be placed on the altar during the Mass of the principal feasts. Here it would be placed beside the 'common wooden cross', the cross that was placed near or next to the altar and used for processions (in the cloister, and to the infirmary and cemetery).[50] The mention of a 'common wooden cross' suggests an alternative ornate metal cross, more likely to be associated with other Orders, was used in some houses.[51] That the reliquary was not to be displayed on the altar at all times suggests a sort of visual fast, perhaps comparable to the custom of closing triptychs for Lent. Then, the colourful inside panels are hidden, revealing instead the grisaille of the outer panels.[52] In parish churches and cathedrals during the Quadragesima Lenten veils were used to conceal the altar from the public, in a 'fast for the vision' that can be traced back to the Clunaic reform.[53] The Use of Sarum similarly describes the use of a veil to conceal the altar from the

[48] Cazabonne, 'Liturgical Life as Art', p. 202.
[49] P. Buc, 'Conversion of Objects: Suger of Saint Denis and Meinwerk of Panderborn' *Viator,* 28 (1997) pp. 99-144.
[50] 1185, s. 4, p. 121, '*Vnam tantum crucem licet super altare ponere preter commune ligneam cum uases reliquiarum, sine cereis, in precipuis festiuitatibus, tantum ad missas'.*
[51] For further information on processional crosses, see C. Hourihane, *The Processional Cross in Late Medieval England: The 'Dallye Cross'* (London, 2005).
[52] For a discussion of Medieval Lenten triptych practice see L. F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park, PA, 2012) pp. 8-10.
[53] L. Pinchover, 'The Gurk Lenten Veil as a Product of its Immediate Surroundings', in M. Wakounig (ed.) *From Collective Memories to Intercultural Exchanges* (Berlin, 2012) pp 85-116, pp. 85-6. The earliest mention is found in the *Consuetudines Farfenses*, the Constitutions of the Abbey of Farfa, near Rome, produced around the year 1010 (ch. XLII).

choir during Lent.[54] The Cistercians followed this practice of drawing a veil over the sanctuary and covering crosses during Lent. The *Liber Usuum Cisterciensium* did note some exemptions to this austerity, stating:

> On Saturdays, however, and the vigils of saints of twelve lessons, the curtain must be drawn back before Vespers that the sanctuary might be visible, and it is put back the next day after Compline.[55]

The *Liber* continued to state that there were other exemptions. The veil should be drawn back during funeral masses when the body was present, and during the blessing of a novice. During weekday masses the subdeacon was to lift the veil slightly to allow the abbot to see the altar.[56] This visual privation was extended beyond the altar veil to include liturgical objects. The *Liber* also states the crosses should be 'covered up' (*cruces cooperiantur*).[57]

The local collection of statutes from Vauclair Abbey near Laon contains the earliest recorded exemption from the prohibition against crosses of precious metal. Statute 29 from 1161 refers to an otherwise unattested practice; 'the use of a gold- or silver-encased relic of the True Cross for the Good Friday veneration of the Cross. The same relic-cross could be attached to the sanctuary cross on Easter, and for the three annual processions' (Purification (2 February), Palm Sunday, and Ascension Thursday).[58] The existence of this statute is evidence

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[54] J. R. Wright, 'The Sarum Use', *Project Canterbury AD 2002*, pp. 1- 12, p. 5. Lenten veils are also mentioned by several Anglo-Norman councils as being part of the supplies that every church was obliged to possess: these are the councils of Exeter (1217), Canterbury (1220), Winchester (1240), Evreux (1240), and Oxford (1287).

[55] *Liber Usuum Cisterciensium*, Book of the Usages of Cîteaux, ch. 15: *De Dominica prima* XL. *Hac die post Completorium cruces cooperiantur, et cortina ante Presbyterium tendatur, quae ita omnibus diebus privatis per XL usque ad quartam feriam ante Pascha post Completorium remanebit. (...)*

[56] *Similiter retrahentur ad Missam pro praesenti defuncto, et ad exequias: Non intres in iudicium, donec septem psalmi finiantur post sepulturam. S et ad benedictionem novitii. (...) Ad missam vero privatis diebus, ut Sacerdos libere ab Abbate, si assuerit, ad Evangelium legendum benedictionem petat, Subdiaconus cornu cortinae in parte Abbatis modice retrahat, et data benedictione, ut prius erat, remittat. Diaconus vero accedat ad cortinam, ubi sublevata est, quaerens benedictionem.*

[57] *In Sabbatis vero et in vigiliis SS. duodecim Lectionum ante Vesperas a conspectu Presbyterii est cortina retrahenda, et in crastino post Completorium est remittenda.*

[58] Vauclair series, 1161, s. 29, p. 637. '*Cruces auree vel argentee quibus lignum cruicis insertum fuerit in parasceue adorari possunt; in die pasche et in tribus annuis processionibus crucibus illis que ad processionem portantur alligari possunt.'*

of the diverse liturgical practice at different Cistercian houses, but also of the role of the General Chapter in issuing and recording exemptions. Obviously not all monasteries had a relic of the True Cross. The presence of this statute in a local collection suggests the relic was at Vauclair, but further information, such as the provenance of the relic or the date of its arrival, are not provided. Presumably it was the status of the relic that convinced the General Chapter to allow its casing to be made of gold or silver, when the processional cross was supposed to be made of material other than precious metal. The degree of decoration of this cross reliquary is not stated in the statute.

The statutes also referred to other specific objects. In 1199 the Chapter reminded the assembly that altar cloths bordered with silk or gold trimming were still banned, except in favour of visiting bishops.[59] This phrasing suggests an infraction had occurred and that a house within the Order had been found to be using a more decorative altar cloth than was appropriate. The statute does not provide any details for the location or nature of the incident, but rather words the reminder in general terms. The presence of such a statute highlights the austerity of Cistercian monasteries, the respect due to visiting bishops, and the right the Chapter had to comment on divergence, if not enforce uniformity. Aims for uniformity are evident in statutes from 1194 and 1200. In 1200, the seals of houses throughout the Order were to be standardised by Easter; 'depicted on the seal will be either an abbot with pastoral staff or else simply a hand holding the staff'.[60] There were also more mundane architectural concerns. In 1194 the Chapter

[59] 1199 s. 5, p. 422. '*Prohibetur ne in altaribus nostris habeantur mappae limbatae. Quod si contra factum fuerit deinceps, sacrista domus illius in qua fuerit hoc habitum, diebus sit in levi culpa. Qui autem hoc iusserit penae similil subiaceat'*

[60] 1200 s. 14, p. 458. '*In sigillis nostris simplex imago scribatur cum baculo, et nichil aliud'.*

ruled that grave slabs for abbots in the chapter house, royalty and bishops in oratory, were to be flush with cloister flooring to avoid tripping.[61]

Three other statutes, from the chapters held in 1190, 1195 and 1196, discuss the type of lamp to be placed by the reliquary, the length of time it was allowed to burn and the punishment for exceeding this allowance. The statutes also illustrate the Chapter's difficulties in enforcing these policies. In 1190 the preparatory commission stated 'on the feast of a saint under whose title an altar has been consecrated', an abbot may burn a light, but only at night. This light was to be an oil lamp, not a wax candle, as the latter substance was more expensive.[62] The related statute from 1195 extends the days when three of the five hanging lights were to be lit for Vigils, Mass and Vespers to include Palm Sunday.[63] Enforcement was still an issue. Statute 17 from 1196 recounts the infractions of the abbot of Fontfroide (near Narbonne), which included lighting more than three lamps in the oratory on major feast days.[64] While the infraction was noted and an appropriate penance suggested, it is not clear that the abbot changed his practice. By 1237 the statutes permitted the use of candles and candelabras on altars during holiday masses,[65] again demonstrating the Chapter's responsiveness to contemporary concerns and practices.

Overall, the statutes related to liturgical objects demonstrate an aim for uniformity in liturgical simplicity. These concerns are connected to reliquary placement, the decoration of

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[61] 1194 s. 8, p. 285. '*Lapides positi super tumulos defunctorum in clautris nostris coaequentur terrae, ne sint offendiculo transeuntibus'.*

[62] Preparatory commission s. 9, p. 180. '*Quando festum alicuius sancti fuerit, in cuius honore altare aliquod precipue consecratum fuerit, liceat abbati lumen ad altae illud accendere sola nocte illa. Cereos tamen interdicimus'.*

[63] 1195, s. 24, p.323. '*Dominica in Ramis palmarum tres lampades ardeant sicut in aliis magnis festis'.*

[64] 1196, s.17, pp. 357-8. '*Abbas frigidmontis […] et plures quam ordo patiatur lampades in Oratorio fecit accendi, quod videtur vanitatem aliquatenus redolere […].'*

[65] C. Kratze, ''*Ornamenta Ecclesiae Cistercienses'*: Ornamental Art in Cistercian Monasteries of the Middle Ages', in T. N. Kinder and R. Cassanelli (eds.) *The Cistercian Arts from the Twelfth to the Twenty-First Century* (Montreal, 2014), pp. 187-200, p. 188.

crosses, the use of lamps, and the presence of luxurious materials. As normative instruments, the statutes present Cistercian practice in line with that described in Bernard's writings on the dangers of distraction in monasteries, as described in Chapter One. The focus here was on the presentation of reliquaries and appropriate engagement, rather than the relics within the containers.

It is striking how little the statutes discuss relics directly, especially given the period in question, which covered the Second Crusade, 1147-49, fall of Jersualem, 1187, and the Fourth Crusade, 1204. Textual production relating to these events, and the related *translatios*, was limited to individual Cistercian houses, rather than occurring at the institutional level. It should be noted that the silence in the statutes may be influenced by accidents of survival. The earliest recoverable *statua* are contained in a partial copy of the *Instituta* from 1135-1137.[66] The next dated group are from 1157-1161.[67] There are no extant statutes dated to 1147-9.

There is, however, evidence of the impact of relic acquisition being recorded at the insitituional level. The *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* is an account of the Fourth Crusade by Gunther of Pairis. Pairis was a great granddaughter of Morimond, one of the smaller daughters of the Alsatian house of Lucelle, overshadowed by its older siblings, especially Salem. The history was commissioned by Abbot Martin 'who served as Gunther's oral source and plays the role of hero in this demi-epic. Abbot Martin's ego certainly figured prominently in the commission and execution of this history, and the abbey of Pairis shared proportionately, if not equally, in the glory'.[68] Throughout the text Gunther was not content to claim 'simply that the

[66] BNF lat. 12169 f.115. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 53, 64.
[67] MS H 322 ff 84-85. Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 65.
[68] Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, p. 14.

events of the Fourth Crusade were directed by God; he attempted to define their place and importance in the flow of human history'.[69]

The catalogue of relics in Chapter 24 is dated 1205, and includes relics of the Holy Blood, fragments of the True Cross, a relic of St John the Baptist, an arm of St James the apostle, and relics from other martyrs, bishops, virgins, and contact relics such as part of the stones where St John stood as he baptised Jesus, and from the spot where Jesus raised Lazarus.[70] The *Hystoria* served a triple purpose, authenticating and cataloguing the relics Marin brought back from the Crusade to justify their translation, as well as glorifying the role of Martin and the Abbey of Pairis;[71] Abbot Martin is explicitly compared to St Martin of Tours.[72]

Following the sack of Constantinople, portions of the Holy Blood were widely distributed. Reflecting the origins of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, the relic was to be found across France, Belgium and the Netherlands, including at two Cistercian foundations; the Abbey of Pairis in Alsace, and Clairvaux.[73] This blood relic was held to be blood from Passion, not *Dauerwunder* ('in which consecrated wafers and wine supposedly changed visibly into flesh and blood and endured as such').[74] The socio-cultural anthropologist Kopytoff has outlined an object's life history as its 'cultural biography'.[75] Tracing such objects over time helps to illuminate the values associated with them. Geary used such an approach to consider the commoditisation of relics when they were circulating through gift, trade or theft.[76] As empty vessels imbued with cultural meaning by a community, relics are useless with the context

[69] Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, p. 54.
[70] Ibid., p. 11, pp. 125-7.
[71] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[72] Ibid., pp. 74-5.
[73] Ibid., p. 67.
[74] C. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 41.
[75] I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process' in A. Appaduri (ed.) *The Social Life Of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 64-90.
[76] P. Geary 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics' in A. Appaduri (ed.) *The Social Life Of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 169-190.

provided by the accompanying hagiography.[77] This context included a narrative cycle that detailed the relic's journey and often added a crusading dimension. This additional information would have had nothing to do with the relic's earlier past, or apostolic connections.[78]

The acquisition of relics following the sack of Constantinople is noted in the *DM*. As noted in Chapter Four, the crusader Henry of Ulm brought back a tooth belonging to St John the Baptist, and donated the relic to Heisterbach at the urging of his sister, the abbess of St Nicholas on the Island. When carrying the relic the prior 'escaped imminent danger on the river Rhine', and the tooth was also noted as being 'powerful in curing sickness.'[79] The relic was important enough to Caesarius of Heisterbach to be included in his collection, but again the incident is not recorded in the statutes.

Overall, there is a marked interest in liturgical simplicity in the statutes, but a surprising paucity of material dealing with relics directly. Discussion of relics, their translations and miracles, was more often confined to the institutional level. The silence in the statutes on this issue suggests that the possession and acquistion of relics was not an issue that exercised the gathered abbots or the *definitors*. As with the liturgical calendars, some permutations were acceptable.

The material surroundings in which the liturgy was practiced were also commented upon by the General Chapter. These statutes encouraged a lack of ornament and decoration. In a statute towards the end of the 1147 *Instituta* concerns the removal of coloured glass windows installed before the 'prohibition'. This refers to *Inst. LXXXII 2*: *Vitreae albae fiant et sine*

[77] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978) pp. 5-9. E. Campbell, *Medieval Saints Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Cambridge, 2008) pp. 11-12.
[78] A. E. Lester, 'What remains: women, relics and remembrance in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40, 3 (2014), pp. 311-328, p. 317.
[79] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *DM,* 2.18, *'De contrita oratione conventus de Hemmenrode, quae tempore schismatis cor Frederici Imperatoris mutavit'*, Vol 1, pp. 432-6.

crucibus et picturis, which requires abbeys to use white glass without crosses or other pictures.[80] Waddell suggests not all of the houses incorporated into the Order had brought their oratories into conformity 'with norms of Cistercian simplicity in things liturgical'.[81] The three year limit in this statute was reduced to two in 1182.[82] Another statute related to architecture was issued in 1157, forbidding the construction of towers, and limiting abbeys to two bells.[83]

Other references to specific infractions suggest that there was a general norm to which Cistercian houses were expected to conform. In 1192 the Chapter decided that the dormitory at Longpont must be rebuilt within three years, even if the abbey was in debt. The reference to *ad formam ordinis* suggests that there was an accepted standard.[84] The same house appeared again in 1194. There the transgression was unknown, but the matter was referred to the head of Longpont's filiation, the abbot of Clairvaux.[85] It seems possible that the second appearance of the house was related to an unresolved issue with the dormitory. The construction of an overly-sumptuous building is also noted at Chalivoy. Here a lay brother had been so successful in his business dealings as to be able to construct said building. The Chapter ordered the lay brother to cease his business dealings and halt construction work.[86] In both cases the display of wealth was problematic. In the case of Chalivoy, the order that the lay brother halt his business dealings suggests that he had not sought prior permission for them, and that, whatever they were, these

[80] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, p. 559.
[81] 1157-61, s. 9, p. 71.
[82] 1182, s. 11, p. 101.
[83] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: St Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William*, (trans.) J. Leclercq, with an introduction by M. Casey (Kalamazoo, MI, 1970), p. 11.
[84] 1192 s. 23, p. 244. *'Dormitorium Longipontis infra triennium ad formam ordinis redigatur, non obstante sentential quae de non aedificando et de debitis lata est. Abbas autem Longipontis, qui contra formam et consuetudinem Ordinis hiusmodi aedificium construxit, 40 diebus extra stallum dignitatis suae sit, sex vero diebus in levi culpa, tum vno eorum in pane et aqua. Quod si forte infra hoc triennum factum non fuerit, nullus ex tunc et in reliquum in eo doriat, et Abbas in sequenti capitulo super hoc veniam petat'.*
[85] 1194 s. 46, p. 298. '*Transgressio conversorum Longipontis Abbati Clarevallis committitur, et ipsa correctio sequenti anno Generali Capitulo renuncietur'.*
[86] 1198 s. 33, p. 413. '*Conversus Callonii, qui de negotiatione sua, domum quandam sumptuosam aedificare dicitur, cesset a negotione, et domus eiusdem ab aedificatione'*.

dealings were taking him away from his duties at the abbey and perhaps leading to increased contact with outsiders.

Elaborate buildings were criticised at Vaucelles in 1192 for causing scandal ('*praecipue aedificium Ecclesiae quod sumptuosum nimis et superfluum est, ex qua occasione multi scandalizantur'*). The abbot of Clairvaux was asked to perform a penance for failing to intervene in their construction. Waddell suggests this reluctance stemmed from an awareness of the huge scale on which the church at Clairvaux had been rebuilt in the 1170s and 1180s.[87] The Chapter decided the abbot of Clairvaux would be helped by those of Foigny and Ourscamp (its daughter-houses near Vaucelles) to explore options to reduce the church to a more appropriate size. Despite the reprimand, the building work continued. It is not clear whether the requested visit of the abbots of Clairvaux, Foigny and Ourscamp occurred. Salzer notes that the construction of the main part of the church continued until 1216, when the abbot, Robert of Saint-Venant, celebrated the first Offices and Masses there. The chevet and radiating chapels were completed in 1235. [88] The finished church was comparable in size to the contemporary cathedral churches in Paris and Tournai, at approximately 137 metres in length.[89]

The description of the extensive chevet places Vaucelles in an architectural tradition alongside Clairvaux, Savigny, Cîteaux, Fountains, Poblet, Pontigny, Rievaulx. The limits of the General Chapter's ability to encourage architectural norms are clear. Forbidding the construction work may have been a performative action designed to remind the communities

[87] 1192 s. 29, p. 247. '*Dominus Abbas Clarevallis, qui apud Vlcellas Visitationis gratia constitutus, quosdam excessus ibi non correxit, et praecipue aedificium Ecclesiae quod sumptuosum nimis et superfluum est, ex qua occasione multi scandalizantur*, *tribus diebus sit in levi culpa. Iniungitur vero ei ut, adscitis sibi Abbatibus de Fusneio, de Vrsicampo, ad locum accedat praenominatum, atque ita emendare studeat id quod circa aedificium illud male et contra Ordinis simplicitatem actum, adeo ut quiqui audierint correctionem, similia in posterum non praesumant agere'.* For a discussion of the building work at Clairvaux, see Chapter Two.
[88] K. Salzer, *Vaucelles Abbey: Social, Political, and Ecclesiastical Relationships in the Borderland Region of the Cambresis, 1131-1300* (Turnhout, 2017) p. 135.
[89] Ibid.*,* p. 6.

within the Order of the importance of architectural simplicity and conspicuous poverty to the Cistercian identity. It is possible such statutes were intended to reach audiences outside of the Order. In this case, the Chapter could be attempting to manage external perceptions of the Order, in the same manner as Conrad of Eberbach when he composed the *Exordium Magnum*.

Similar language to that of the statutes is found in Bernard's *Apologia ad Guillelmum*. The *Apologia* was composed in around 1125, around the same time as the *Homiliae in laudibus Virginis Matris* (*In Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary)* and treatise *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiæ* (*The Steps of Humility and Pride).*[90] In the *Apologia* Cistercian poverty was seen as distinct, and as Gajewski notes, morally superior. There is debate about the extent to which the *Apologia* was intended to criticise Clunaic monasticism, particularly 'the visual and material aspects which defined the otherness of their monasteries', or defend the current practice at Cistercian houses.[91] Casey suggest the process of composing the *Apologia* took at least six months, and began at the request of William of St Thierry.[92] Bernard was asked to refute the charge that Cistercians were slandering Cluny, whilst also denouncing the laxity in practice that had developed at Cluny. While concerned not to make relations worse, Bernard stresses the duty of everyone to speak the truth and accept admonitions.[93] The first half of the document is richer in doctrine, while the second compares the two orders on the points of food, clothing, and architecture. Here we find warnings of the dangers of gluttony that are echoed by other eleventh and twelfth century reformers, notably Peter Damian and Peter the Venerable.[94] Large

[90] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs*, p. 3. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Twelve Degrees of Humility and Pride*, trans. B. R. V. Mills (London, 1929), *Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993).
[91] A. Gajewski 'The architecture of the choir at Clairvaux Abbey: Saint Bernard and the Cistercian principle of conspicuous poverty' in T. Kinder (ed) *Perspectives for an architecture of solitude: Essays on Cistercian art and architecture in honour of Peter Fergusson* (Cîteaux, 2004) pp. 71-80, at p.78.
[92] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs*, pp. 4-6.
[93] Ibid., p. 14.
[94] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

buildings are described as 'extravagant' and 'unnecessary', Cluniac decorations and images as 'expensive' and 'novel'.[95] These themes are oft-repeated in the statutes when building work and architectural norms are discussed. As a piece of satire the *Apologia* contains exaggerations, but the core is a lesson on simplicity and austerity.

As Reilly noted, 'the question of who provided the impetus for the earliest Cistercian legislation has always been vexed'.[96] As was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the dating of the foundation narratives and statutes are complex. Chapters 25 and 26 of the *capitula,* attached to the *EC,* ban silken altar clothes and vestments, ornate liturgical place, and sculptures and paintings with the exception of painted wooden crosses.[97] While a range of dates have been suggested for these documents,[98] the important point to note here is that throughout the *Apologia* Bernard did not describe any identifiable artworks, meaning that it is difficult to know whether Bernard influenced the legislation, or was describing attitudes he encountered when he entered Cîteaux. It is evident, however, that the *Apologia* was influential on other Cistercian authors. Aelred of Rievaulx paralleled its contents in a chapter of his *Speculum Caritatis* (c.1163-66), noting that 'excessive ostentation' was a distraction from the monastic life.[99] In the *Dialogue between a Cluniac and a Cistercian* (c.1153-73), Idung of Prufening also argued that decoration was superfluous.[100]

[95] *Apologia,* XII, 28. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs*, p. 63.
[96] D. J. Reilly, 'Bernard of Clairvaux and Christian Art', in B. P. McGuire (ed.) *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 279- 304, p. 288.
[97] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes* p. 413.
[98] Bredero has argued that the statutes were contemporary to the composition of the *Apologia* in *Between Cult and History* pp. 201-2, 215-16. Waddell argues that the statutes were composed by 1119, *Twelfth-Century Statutes* pp. 148-9 C. Holdsworth has suggested the legislation originated in Stephen Harding's abbacy (c.1109), 'The Chronology and Character of early Cistercian Legislation on Art and Architecture', in C. Norton and D. Park (eds.) *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 52.
[99] Reilly, 'Bernard of Clairvaux and Christian Art', p. 303. K. Doyle, *Rereading Saint Bernard: Text, Context and the Art Historical Interpretation of the Apologia* (diss., Courtland Institute of Art, 2004), pp. 117-8.
[100] Doyle, *Rereading Saint Bernard*, p. 123.

These statutes are evidence that there was an identifiable Cistercian norm that strove for architectural and liturgical simplicity. The statutes regulating the correct placement and lighting of reliquaries should be read in conjunction with those concerned with the material surroundings of the liturgy. Both are linked by a concern to limit distracting decoration and celebrate the liturgy with more restraint. There is thus evidence of an early identity and discussion based on visual privation, if not always successful enforcement.

3. Pilgrimage and access to sacred objects

Turning away from statutes relating to liturgical objects and their surroundings, this section will explore pilgrimage and access to sacred objects. This will begin with restrictions on monastic pilgrimage, followed by the circulation of relics in Cistercian custodianship, and finally the proximity of women and the laity to relics in the monastic precinct. These concerns are relevant to this thesis through their investment in limiting the access granted to Cistercian cults and sacred objects. The statutes also corroborate the concerns for monastic stability expressed by Bernard, which were discussed in Chapter One.

The wandering of monks could be symptomatic of a misunderstanding about the relative spiritual value of one place over another. Stability is a key concern in the *Rule of St Benedict*. The Prologue requires a monk to 'faithfully observe this teaching in the monastery until death',[101] and the Rule later states that the monk's heart should embrace and endure suffering without weakening in resolve or seeking escape.[102] Given the Cistercian commitment to uphold the Rule, an emphasis on the importance of stability is expected and understandable.[103] The linked concerns of monastic stability and lay pilgrimage have been noted elsewhere in this

[101] Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (ed. and trans.) B. L. Venarde. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6. (Cambridge, MA, 2011). Prologue, 48-50.
[102] Ibid., 7:35-36.
[103] See M. Casey, "The Value of Stability" in *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 31, 3 (1996) pp. 287-301.

thesis; apparent in the writing of Bernard of Clairvaux and the exempla collections. Bernard distinguished between the utility of sacred space for pilgrims and crusaders, as opposed to monks. Cistercian monks who decided to leave their monasteries to travel to Jerusalem were making a 'retrograde step', by abandoning the heavenly city, the cloister, for the earthly one.[104] Bernard described Clairvaux as 'the Jerusalem united to the one in heaven by whole-hearted devotion, by conformity of life, and by a certain spiritual affinity'.[105] In resolving to become a Cistercian monk, a canon from Lincoln had 'found a short cut to Jerusalem', and commenced a better life.[106] Continuing on pilgrimage to the Holy Land was no longer necessary.

When Arnold, abbot of Morimond, decided to leave the cloister to undertake pilgrimage and establish a house in the Holy Land in 1124, and take several monks with him, he chose the earthly Jerusalem. The General Chapter discussed the case and condemned the abbot whilst Bernard wrote to Arnold accusing the abbot of deserting his flock and leading his fellow travellers astray. In addition to disregarding his vow to remain in the cloister, he left without permission, disobeying the statutes of the Order and threatening the principle of unity enshrined in the *Carta caritatis*. Bernard went so far as to ask the pope to intervene. He also wrote to Bruno of Cologne, stating that Arnold was causing a scandal for the Order by behaving in the manner of a secular lord in leaving without consolation.[107]

Stability was a consistent theme in Cistercian exempla collections. Conrad of Eberbach included a story in the *EM* to demonstrate the virtue of stability and its eventual reward. In this story a monk named Balm decided that he wanted to die at Clairvaux.[108] Conrad states the Lord

[104] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 100.
[105] Letter 67, *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux,* pp. 90-92, p. 91.
[106] Ibid., p. 91.
[107] Jotischky *The Perfection of Solitude* p. 3.
[108] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM.,* 6.3, '*vivere et mori in Claravalle cunctis divitiis et deliciis mundi praeposuisset*' p. 399.

was pleased with his devotion, so created an occasion for Balm to return to Clairvaux, where he caught a fatal fever. The *EM* suggests Balm was granted his wish due to his humility and fear due to his imperfections, his obedience to the rule of stability that prevented his joining Clairvaux while alive. Conrad stresses burial at Clairvaux was an honour, granted to Balm due to his obedience and stability.[109]

These concerns were also expressed in the twelfth-century statutes. Monastic stability appears in the form of the prohibition of private vows and participation in pilgrimage or crusade. In 1181 the Chapter ruled that private vows made before entry into the Order, or afterwards without abbatial permission, would be null and void.[110] In 1190 the prohibition against pilgrimage (dating from at least 1157) was extended to spas, apparently after problems with wandering monks traveling to the Benedictine abbey of Cougon and the healing St Remacle waters.[111] In 1192 a wandering pilgrim-monk from a daughter-house across the English Channel arrived at Savigny, and in 1195 and 1200 prohibitions against travel and teaching outside of a monastery were reiterated.[112] The existence of legislation against such incidents indicates that Bernard's fears were shared by other abbots of his order, and the General Chapter. The reiterations of the injunction in 1192, 1195, and 1200 illustrate a continuing problem as monks were enticed by the idea of pilgrimage.

Incidents of monastic pilgrimage demonstrate that some individuals sought interactions with sacred objects and places in ways contrary to those encouraged by the Cistercian authors

[109] Conrad of Eberbach, *EM.,* '*eiusdem obedientriae piissimus remunerator morienti benigne restituit ipsimque ineffabili gloriae eorum, quae solis perfectis monachis debetur, associavit in caelis, quorum sacris cineribus vel in sepultra sociari humilibus votorum suspiriis praeoptavit in terris*', p. 402.
[110] 1181, s. 1, p. 92. '*Non est consuetudo ordinis nostril ut qui ante conversionem vovere ieiunia propter hoc in congregatione dissimili uivtu fratres debeant conturbare; sed obbediant patre abbati per omnia'.*
[111] 1190, s. 61, p. 233. '*Illi qui causa potionum Sanci Romaculi domum propriam exeunt, ad eam de cetero non revertantur nisi ad licentiam Generalis Capituli. Nullus vero Abbas licentiam huiusmodi alicui dare praesumat'*
[112] 1192, s. 30, p. 247. 1195, s. 16, p. 316. 1200, s. 11, p. 456.

of hagiography and exempla collections. The material culture of a cult continued to attract some monks, whom the senior members of the Order had to reprimand and correct. The pull these monks felt may have been due to their background prior to their noviciate. The Cistercians refused child oblates, recruiting adult men who may have had experiences as pilgrims, knights or crusaders before enrolment.[113] In this capacity they may have been exposed to very different rhetoric concerning the benefits of pilgrimage. The need to (re)educate novices contributed to the production of exempla collections in this period, as discussed in Chapter Four. The Order actively sought to encourage new approaches to sacred matter in their monks.

The Chapter was concerned by monks who might undertake unsanctioned preaching. A disapproving tone was noted in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *DM* in Chapter Four.[114] That story related the fundraising tour conducted by the Benedictine community at Brauweiler, and the use of blasphemous secular priests.[115] Caesarius' disapproval of these priests cannot be separated from that of the monks who used their relic for fundraising purposes. These sources together then, provide the regulations of the Order and a memorable moral tale to encourage appropriate behaviour. Ensuring that popular access to relics was mediated, and that their proper use remained tied to contemplation and penance, corroborates the Order's intentions in the prohibition of such relic tours.

At some point between 1157 and 1180 the Chapter had banned abbots, themselves or through their monks, from seeking alms or preaching in outside churches.[116] In 1190 the statutes reveal that the abbot of Aiguebelle had been preaching in secular churches, hearing confessions,

[113] For a discussion of the practice of child oblation, see G. Peters, 'Offering sons to God in the monastery: Child oblation, monastic benevolence, and the Cistercian order in the middle ages', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly,* 38, 3 (2003) pp. 285-95.
[114] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the *DM* and Cistercian exempla collections.
[115] Caesarius of Heisterbach *DM*, 8.68, p. 70. *De dente sancti Nycholai in Bruwilre.*
[116] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes* p. 222. *'Prohibitum est ne quis abbatum per se vel per suos in ecclesiis predicando querat'*

and imposing penances on seculars. In the same statute, the abbot of Val-Benoit was punished for wandering outside of the cloister. The abbot of his motherhouse, Bonnevaux, was asked to 'deprive him of any excuse for such extra-claustral forays by refraining from asking him to serve as delegate-visitor or to undertake similar outside business'.[117]

One of the boldest violations of the prohibition against abbots from participating in preaching tours, in person or through their monks, with a view to collecting donations, occurred around 1195. The public display of relics by clerics and monks from other Orders was not uncommon. Reliquaries were intended to be portable; a dynamic part of the chorus of saints.[118] They could be taken to tenants on church estates, used to force warring factions into suing for peace, or asked for intercession in times of famine.[119] The gathering of relics to encourage unity and collaboration became common at councils for the Peace of God.[120]

Statute 74 from 1195 states that the abbot of Zinna (in present-day Saxony) had sent out a monk and a lay brother to raise funds via a public display of relics. Waddell notes this relic tour occurred in the aftermath of the 1170 pagan uprising, when Zinna's first abbot, Rizo, had been killed and the monastery destroyed.[121] In addition to the impetus for, and consequences of, contravening the statute, we can consider what this incident indicates about the uses of relics in Latin frontier regions. This event shows us the practice of relic procession with the aim of

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[117] 11941, s. 20, p. 221-2. '*Interdicitur Abbati Aquaebellae ut de cetero non praedicet in Ecclesiis secularibus, nec penitentiam secularibus iniungat absque iussu; et quia mortuum sepeliuit in propria domo quam habet in Civitate, 6 diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua, et 40 diebus sit extra stallum suum. Istam autem penirantiam suscipiat etiam Abbas Vallis Benedicti; et Abbati Bonevallis praecipitur ut subtrahat de ei occasionem vagandi, nec ad aliquam visitionem aut alia negotia eum mittat.'*

[118] C. Hahn, 'What do reliquaries do for relics?' *Numen* (2010) 57, pp. 284-316, p. 290.

[119] J. M. H. Smith, 'Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c. 700-1200)', *2010 Raleigh Lecture on History*, p. 158.

[120] For further discussion see T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (London, 1992).

[121] 1195 s. 74, p. 344. *'Abbas de Intreburch, qui Monachum et conversum suum misit cum reliquiis ad mendicandum, sex diebus sit in levi culpa, vno eorum in pane et aqua; et Collecta quam lucratus est sequenti Capitulo deferatur. Quicumque vero de caetero aliquid tale commiserit vindicatam simile soritatur.'*

fundraising had spread further east; that the General Chapter was able to requisition funds resulting from the venture demonstrates some level of success. The community at Zinna was transferred to Juterbock following the uprising and was only able to return to the original site in 1227, thanks to the patronage of the bishop of Magdeburg and donations from the laity.

The impetus for this relic tour was the destruction of the abbey at Zinna. Jamroziak has noted the Cistercian abbeys founded in Germany and Poland in the twelfth century were founded in the wake of conquest and Christianisation. Physical displacement was a crucial aspect of the monastic experience from the early Middle Ages, allowing participants to demonstrate their commitment to the life.[122] The thin veneer of Christianity in this period is highlighted by the Cistercian involvement in preaching missions. The first identifiable Cistercian involved in missionary activities was Berno from Amelungsborn Abbey (Lower Saxony), who was appointed as a bishop to the pagan Obotrites in 1155. The chronicler Helmold of Bosaw reported that Berno took part in the military conquest of the island of Rugan by the king of Denmark in 1168. He was later awarded the newly-created bishopric, from which he founded the Cistercian abbey of Doberan in 1171.[123] Individuals like Berno emphasise the unique problems facing Cistercian foundations in eastern Europe, and the danger that a monastery such as Zinna faced. It is important to note, however, that the Cistercians involved in missionary activity which involved preaching outside of the monastery were often bishops, rather than monks, and in most instances had received prior permission. Herbert records in the *LVMC* that at the monastery of Dargun, in Mecklenburg, the monks went out to the village

[122] R. E. Sullivan, 'The Medieval Monk as Frontiersman', in *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (ed.) W. W. Savage Jr and N. Okla (Oklahoma, OK, 1979), pp. 25-49, p. 27.
[123] E. Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090-1500* (London, 2013), p. 79. Jamroziak has written elsewhere about the role of Cistercians in the Christianisation of Pomerania, see *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011).

every day to baptise the gathered inhabitants. Crucially, these monks had received a papal licence to do so.[124]

The ban on relic tours demonstrates the General Chapter regulating behaviour and reflecting contemporary opinions on the appropriate use of and audiences for relics. Such a tour would lead to increased contact with the laity, cause the monks to handle money, and potentially led to challenges to the power of the saint. Craig has noted moving a relic sacrificed the 'neat separation and controlled environment available within the church' and ran the risk of 'overlap between the sacred space of multiple relics'.[125] A space containing multiple saints could lead to contested miracle attributions, and gave more power to lay audiences, who, away from the controlled space of the church, gained a more active participatory role in the event.[126] It seems likely it was this last concern, the role of a lay audience, that most troubled the General Chapter. A public tour inherently involved lay people, whose pastoral care the Order tried to leave to secular clergy.[127] The Chapter's position on wandering monks, preaching outside the cloister, and fundraising relic tours, all point to an attempt to enact the rhetorical isolation found in the Order's early narrative documents and exempla collections.

In addition to these concerns surrounding the movements of monks and relics outside the cloister, the General Chapter issued statutes demonstrating anxieties related to lay incursion into the monastic precinct.[128] These complemented those concerned with irregular burials, and the concerns about disruptive pilgrims in the Order's hagiography. Concerns about the potential

[124] Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe,* p. 75.
[125] K. M. Craig, 'Fighting for Sacred Space: Relic Mobility and Conflict in Tenth- Eleventh-Century France', *Viator,* 48, (2017) pp. 17-37, p. 18.
[126] Ibid., p. 19.
[127] For the argument that the Cistercians viewed the church as a moral body and that different sections of the hierarchy had different obligations, see Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*.
[128] For disruptive pilgrims in Cistercian hagiography see Chapter Three. For problematic pilgrims in exempla collections see Chapter Four.

for disruptive lay pilgrimage are evident in the cult of St Peter of Tarentaise (1102-1174). Peter had entered the Cistercian monastery of Bonnevaux in 1122 and founded Tamie Abbey in 1132 as its daughter house. He was made archbishop of Tarentaise in 1141, a position he held until his death in 1174. Peter was canonised by Celestine III in 1191.[129] In 1192 the statutes noted his feast was celebrated on 10 September at the site of his tomb at Bellevaux, and by the rest of the Order.[130] A later statute from the same year notes that following his canonisation his tomb had become a popular site of pilgrimage. This had led to the 'problem of devout women entering the monastery church on the occasion of the feast day of the miracle-working saint'.[131]

The statutes suggest female pilgrims in the precinct were particularly problematic. Early injunctions forbade women to pass through the monastery gate, for monks and lay brothers to live under the same roof as women, and for women to take employment in the monastery, such as milk-maids.[132] Women were allowed to be present in Cistercian churches on the day of dedication or its Octave, and were not to stay overnight in the precinct.[133] These rules were amended by successive popes; while Gregory IX (1227-41) forbade nobles from taking women into a Cistercian abbey (a problem evident in the statutes discussed below), Innocent IV (1250) allowed noble women and their retinue to enter the precinct once a year.[134]

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[129] T. Merton, "Saint Peter of Tarentaise, First Abbot of Tamie", *In the Valley of Wormwood: Cistercian Blessed and Saints of the Golden Age*, (Collegeville, MN, 2013) pp. 169-81.
[130] 1192 s. 2, p. 235.
[131] 1192 s. 47, 48, p. 254. '*Quoniam mulieres intraverunt Bellamuallem die festo Sancti Petri, Abbas tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, veno eorum in pane et aqua, conuentus vero vno die sit in pane et aqua, et priuatam accipiant singuli disciplinam'.* In 1196 St Peter of Tarentaise's feast was moved. Originally assigned by the bull of canonization (1191) to 11 September, the day of the elevation of his relics, the travel of most abbots to the General Chapter at this time prevented the proper celebration of his feast. Celestine III ordered the transfer to 8 May, and statute sixty tells us that the stanza referring to the day as the anniversary of death was removed from the office (1196 s. 60, p. 375). The following year the liturgical formularies of his feast were altered again. As 8 May fell within the Easter season, it was deemed appropriate to change the formularies to those of another Bishop Confessor, St Ambrose (4 April) (1197 s. 1, p. 379).
[132] 1157, s. 58, p. 603.
[133] 1157, s. 10, p. 706. Waddell notes that this statute is unique to BNF5, the local collection for Tre Fontane.
[134] Canivez, *Statuta*, Vol II, 1250, s. 23, p. 350.

The problems posed by the presence of females in the cloister in particular was a recurring concern in the statutes. While at Bellevaux women appeared as pilgrims, at other houses women appeared for the dedication of churches, abbatial blessings, or offices of the dead. In 1190, for example, the abbot of Columba allowed women to be present at his abbatial blessing in the abbey. The Chapter reprimanded the abbot and ordered the donations received on the occasion be brought to the 1191 meeting.[135] A statute from the following year records similar problems at Bussiere, Cercanceaux, and Aubepierre.[136] The same Chapter also had to reprimand the community at la Charité for conniving to allow women entry for the anniversary of the dedication of the church. The Chapter issued a warning that any future offence of this nature would lead to a fast every Friday from the date of the offence to the next meeting.[137]

Given the regular admonishments, it is worth considering why the abbot or community might risk allowing women to enter. The background of the women involved in such incursions into the cloister is interesting; when reference is made to their backgrounds in the *Statuta* they are invariably high status. In 1190 women, presumably from the French court, were present at Barbeaux for the anniversary office of King Louis VII who was buried there. The abbot, who had been at the Chapter when the offence took place, was placed on bread and water along with his community, with a more severe penance reserved for the officials in charge who allowed the women in.[138] Several other statutes suggest high-status ladies invaded Cistercian spaces. In

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[135] 1190, s.29, p. 202. '*Abbas de Columba, qui benefictionm in domo sua fieri consensi, et mulieres ingredi permisit, sex diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqual; et oblations in sequenti anno reddat. Similiter et alii caueant; et qui rei sunt Oblationes Capitulo reddant'.*

[136] 1191, s. 5, p. 215 '*Abbas de Buxeria et Albapetra et Sacracella, quorum Monasteria ingressae sunt mulieres tempore Benedictionis, sex diebus sint entra stallum suum. Oblations vero quas inde habuerunt ad sequens Generale Capitulum deferant'.*

[137] 1191, s. 21, p. 222. '*Saepe ac saepius quaerium accepimus, et sententiam dedimus de domo de Charitate quem ingrediuntur mulieres singuli annis in die Dedicationis Ecclesiae, nec adhuc noscitur emendatum. Unde quia nouimus hoc voluntate et assensu fratum domus illius fieri, iam amplius dissimulare non possumus. Dicimus ut ea die qua de caetero ingressae fuerint mulieres, sextis feriis eiusdem anni Abbas et Conuentus eiusdem domus sint in pane et aqua, et oblationes omnes Abbas ad Capitulum Generale deferat'.*

[138] 1190, s. 38, p. 205 '*In Sequanae portu, qui mulieres in anniversario Regis ingressae sunt Oratorium, tam Abbas quam monachi uno die sint in pane et aqua. Officiales vero qui hoc scienter fieri permiserunt, tribus diebus sin in*

1195 the General Chapter had to invoke the help of Count Stephen (and the archbishop) to prevent women entering the cloister at la Charité, suggesting they formed part of his entourage.[139] In 1199 women from the Hungarian court appear to have violated the cloisters of several Hungarian houses.[140] In these instances, the women involved were connected to the patrons and benefactors of the abbey. As discussed in Chapter Four, individual monasteries had different strategies for attracting and appeasing benefactors, granting different levels of access and commemoration. Higher status patrons were preferable to maintain an aura of exclusivity of access to the space.

The most serious infraction of the prohibition against women in the monastery was arguably that of Wilhering, Austria. In 1193 the General Chapter ordered the abbot of Ebrach to go immediately and conduct an enquiry to discover who was responsible for allowing women not only to enter the monastery, but also for allowing them to receive Communion daily throughout the Sacred Triduum and on Easter Sunday. The Chapter viewed the matter so seriously that if the monastery could not be brought into line the abbot of Ebrach was empowered to supress it.[141] This statute is interesting in that it demonstrates the severity with which the offence was viewed, and the punishments within the Chapter's power. While an investigation would be

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levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et awua; et hoc Abbas eorum diligente inquirat, et eis hanc penam imponat'. The presence of women at Barbeaux was a reccuring problem, see 1192, s. 52, p. 256. '*Abbas Sequanae Portus, quia mulieres intrauerunt domum eius, sit in levi culpa sex diebus, uno eorum in pane et aqua.'*

[139] 1195, s. 65, p. 341. '*De ingressu mulierum in domum de Charitate Domino Archiepiscopo Bisuntino et Comiti Stephano scribatur, ut omnimodam diligentiam adhibeant, quatenus de caetero mulieres domum praefatam ingredi non audeant. Abbas quoque Charitatis Comitem ipsum dedicationis ecclesiae sua die presentem secum habere studeat, qui mulieres ab introit praediciti monasterii coerceat.'*

[140] 1199, s. 43, p. 435. '*Domino Regi Hungariae scribatur de ingress mulierum in Monasteriis nostris, u teas a tanta praesumptione compescat; et Abbates illi in quorum domibus intrauerint, 40 diebus sint extra stallum suum, et sex diebus in levi culpa, 1 eorum in pane et aqua; et de caetero penitentiam talibus institutam diligenter observant. Abbas de Egris hoc eis denuntiet.'*

[141] 1193, s. 43, p. 270. '*Iniungitur Abbati de Eura ut Abbatiam de Hilaria in propria persona adeat, et per excommunicationis sentential diligenter inquirat per quem siue per qups constitit mulieres intrasse eandem Abbatiam in Cena domini et communicasse et 6 feria et sequenti Sabbato et in die Sancto Paschae. Illos autem quos deprehenderit esse culpabiles graui culpae subiiciat, et ultimos per annum collocet. Domum autem ipsam ad formam et statum Ordinus restituat ; aut si id implere non poterir, destiuat.'*

undertaken, the ultimate penalty threatened was the suppression of the house and dispersal of the community, and the power to pronounce this decision had been delegated to the abbot of Ebrach.

The statutes also reveal repeat offenders. The monastery of Maurice de Carnoët (Brittany) appears in 1194, 1195, and 1196, each time reprimanded for the presence of women in the cloister. While in 1194 a routine enquiry was ordered, by 1195 the situation was more serious.[142] Then, the General Chapter accepted the women in question could not be restrained from entering the monastery, and so granted permission for the monks to remain in the grange to which they had withdrawn until the next Chapter.[143] By 1196, the situation had not been resolved, but some monks had decided to return to the abbey without the permission of the Chapter. For this presumption they, and their abbot, were given a penance.[144] The identity of the women and reason for their incursion is not given in the statutes, but it is striking that the problem was so severe the monks retreated to the grange. The inability of the Chapter to prevent the incursions highlights the limits of its authority, the focus of the next section.

4. The authority of the General Chapter

In statutes related to liturgical objects, architecture, monastic pilgrimage, and lay incursion into the precinct, repeated infractions by the same communities have been noted throughout this

[142] 1194, s. 38, p. 295. '*De ingress mulierum in Monasterio de Carnos, committitur Abbati de Elemosina, ut ipse corrigat secundum Ordinis formam.*'
[143] 1195, s.11, p. 346. *'De Abbatia de Carnot, a cuius ingress mulieres pro presenti tempore non possunt arceri, permittitur ut Monachi in Grangia ad quam secesserunt ordinem suum tenentes, usque ad sequens Generale Capitulum demorentur.'*
[144] 1196 s. 11, pp. 355-6. '*Monachi de Carnoit, qui ad propriam Abbatiam reverse sunt absque licentia Capituli Generalis, ad grangiam in qua prius morabantur redeant, et pro excess suo tribus sextis feriis sint in pane et aqua, et ad locum Abbatiam non revertantur since mandato eiusdem Capituli; ab ingress vero grangiae, quamdiu in ea Conventus manserit, feminae arceantur. Abbas vero domus illius sex diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua.'*

chapter. It is worth considering what these incidents imply about the authority of the General Chapter and its powers of enforcement. This is related to the purpose of the annual meeting, and the expectations the *definitors* had when requesting enquiries and issuing penances. Such expectations appear to have changed over time, as the Chapter evolved from a gathering resembling a monastic chapter in the 1150s to a more legislative body in the 1190s, and reflect the continuing tensions between Cistercian identity and regional variation.

The Chapter's decision to continue to record the issues they found with monastic discipline, stability, or liturgy, suggests that as a space for discussion and negotiation, these concerns were shared across a wide section of the Order. The codifications of legislation in 1202, 1237 (and after the period in question in this thesis, in 1257, 1316 and 1340) contained general regulations arranged according to topic; evidence of clear thinking if not enforcement. The process of visitation and reporting provided structures for supervision. There was not, however, a stringent enforcement of these provisions, as the appearance of repeat offenders demonstrates. In some cases, discussed below, the Chapter pragmatically accepted the impact of regional distinctiveness on economic and liturgical practices.

The problems the Chapter faced in enforcing their decisions is also demonstrated in a series of statutes related to the problem of women entering the cloister. The authority of the Chapter was evidently too weak to impose its will, leading to recourse to the pope. In 1195 the problem was localised to San Sebastiano,[145] but in 1198 the statutes record a more general consultation about women entering Cistercian houses, due to the death of Celestine III and election of Innocent III.[146] By 1199 the Chapter had decided to send a delegation to the pope, comprising

[145] 1195, s. 79, p. 346. '*Abbas Sancti Sulpitii utatur consilio Domini Pontigniacensis in substituendis Abbatibus filiis, et in cenobiis suis ordinandis; et de ingress mulierum in monasterio Sancti Sebastiani summum consulat Pontificem, suggerens ei quod si mulieres ab ingress monasterii non arceantur, ordo non poterit sustinere.'*
[146] 1198, s. 4, p. 403. '*De mulierbus quae domus nostras violenter ingrediunter, iterum Dominus Papa consulatur. Sentential super hoc lata firmiter teneatur.'*

of the abbots of Sant' Ananstasio, Casamari, Chiaravalle della Colomba and Fossnova, in order to ask him to issue a formal command with censure attached to the violation of Cistercian cloisters by women.[147]

The Order's strong bonds to the ecclesiastical hierarchy justify this approach. As part of their overall commitment to church reform, the Cistercians developed connections with likeminded churchmen, became involved in episcopal elections, and wrote about the qualities needed in ideal prelates. Archbishop Malachy of Armagh and Archbishop Eskil of Lund both visited Clairvaux and founded Cistercian monasteries in their respective provinces.[148] Bernard of Clairvaux criticised the low standards of morality evident in some secular clergy,[149] and wrote to supporters of reform across Europe.[150] Bernard had sought the support of both the archbishop of Cologne and Pope Calixtus II in his attempts to restrain Arnold of Morimond in 1124.[151] This network of sympathetic bishops was expanded by Cistercian monks who themselves became bishops.[152] Jamroziak argues 'the degree of cooperation between Cistercians and prelates was unprecedented compared both with that which had previously existed between bishops and Benedictine monks and that which was later developed between bishops and mendicants'.[153]

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[147] 1199, s. 54, pp. 439-40. '*[…] Praedictis autem Abbatibus Abbates Sancti Anastasii et Casemaris adiunguntur, et ipsis iniungitur ut Dominum Papam de ingress mulierum in domos Ordinis nostril satagant consulere, et ei suggerant, in quantum poterint, ut eas velit ab hac praesumptione suius iussionibus et censura qua convenit cohibere […].'*

[148] For a discussion of the relationships between these men and Bernard of Clairvaux, see Chapter Two.

[149] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the conduct and office of bishops,* II, 4, in M. Newman and E. Steigman (eds.) *Bernard of Clairvaux: on baptism and the office of bishops, on the conduct and office of bishops, on baptism and other questions: two letter-treatises,* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2004), M. Newman, 'Contemplative Virtues and the Active Life of Prelates', in *Bernard of Clairvaux, On Baptism and the Office of Bishops: On the Conduct and Office of Bishops, On Baptism and Other Questions, Two Letter-Treatises.* (Kalamzoo, MI, 2004).

[150] See letters to Alvisus of Anchin (Letter 68 pp, 92-4, Letter 286 pp. 355-6, Letter 420 pp. 488-90) and Geoffrey of St Medard (Letter 69, pp. 94-5) in B. S. James, *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Stroud, 1998).

[151] For a discussion of this incident, see Chapter One.

[152] In Burgundy for example, these included Geoffrey of Langres (1139-63), Warner of Langres (1193-1200), Hugh III of Auxerre (1136-1151), Alain of Auxerre (1152-67). See Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 148-55.

[153] Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe*, p. 30.

The decision of the Chapter to refer problems it had struggled to solve to the papacy thus makes sense, given the Order's longstanding connections to the church hierarchy. Duggan notes 'councils, reform, and the revival of canon law and of papal and episcopal authority were closely interconnected, since an essential foundation of the reform movement was the re-assertion and re-definition of the disciplinary authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy culminating in the papacy'.[154] This decision also says something about the power of the papacy at the end of the twelfth century in the lead up to the Fourth Lateran Council, that the Order felt the pope could more successfully intervene than themselves.[155] Since the First Lateran Council of 1123 the papacy exercised its legislative authority ever more effectively. These referrals emphasise the General Chapter was aware of its failings to correct lapses in discipline and conformity. Given the negotiated character of the Chapter's authority, such referrals may say more about the audience for the statutes than provide evidence for an attempt to amend practices. In appealing to the pope, the Chapter was making any attempts to maintain uniform practice more public and managing its reputation.

The lack of follow-up in the statutes to track the resolution of a dispute or imposition of a punishement is due to the General Chapter's lack of systematic infrastructure to do so. The statutes were a result of the discussion held by abbots at Cîteaux, not laws set by a governing body. The type of authority exercised by the Chapter has implications for the discussion of the formation of Cistercian attitudes. The lack of possibility of enforcement suggests individual houses were buying into the project and deciding to conform, at least to an extent. On the other hand, it is possible the Chapter was aware of more variation than the incidents discussed and

[154] A. Duggan, "Conciliar Law 1123-1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils", *The History of Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, (eds.) W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (Washington, D.C, 2008) pp. 318–366, p. 323.
[155] For further reading on the papacy of Innocent III, see J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/1-1216): To Root Up and To Plant*, (Leiden, 2003).

was invested in projecting an image of a group trying to maintain uniformity. Both scenarios suggest a brand of Cistercian monasticism existed that could be bought into. In a context of the proliferation of monastic orders and the need to compete for patronage, this distinctiveness would have been attractive.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the twelfth-century statutes from the General Chapter are a useful source for attitudes towards sacred objects. Statutes relate decisions concerning the use of reliquaries, additions to the liturgy, and patterns of commemoration. This chapter has demonstrated that the General Chapter functioned more as a centre for discussion and consensual government, than an organisation able to impose its authority on houses throughout the Order.

Overall, the narrative documents and statutes from the General Chapter show a Cistercian aim for liturgical poverty in contrast to the common practice of burning multiple candles and lamps on special feasts and celebrations.[156] These ideals well reflected Bernard's views on simplicity and lack of ornament as outlined in his letters and treatises, and the twelfth and thirteenth-century hagiography and exempla collections discussed elsewhere in this thesis. In all of these documents a developing sense of consensus is evident, pointing to a shared identity, often drawn in contrast to other groups.

In 1200 the assembly reiterated the desire for uniformity in the liturgy across the Order. Even the commemoration of a local saint, or celebration of the Office of the Dead on behalf of a benefactor, required the explicit permission of the Chapter, '*nisi per Generale Capitulum*

[156] Waddell, *Twelfth-Century Statutes,* p. 180.

concessum esset'.[157] This statute suggests that there was a Cistercian way of life and identity that the Chapter was seeking to promote. Given these aims it is probable that incorporated houses would have been expected to adapt any divergent practices. Such adaptations were considered in Chapter Three with regards to the models of sanctity presented in hagiography.

The repetition of some ideas and repeated infractions, especially with regards to burial rights and ornate buildings, suggests the enforcement of some of these norms was problematic. The addition of local celebrations to the liturgical calendar was decided on a case-by-case basis, reflecting the flexibility and pragmatism of the Chapter. The celebration of these additional saints meant that though a uniform, pared-down liturgical calendar was an aspiration, there was a degree of variation between regions and filiations. These saint-specific statutes detail the changes made to offices and dates of celebration, in addition to variation in the degrees of celebration across the Order. The relic of the True Cross at Vauclair abbey was prestigious enough to warrant a metal reliquary, where other houses were restricted to wooden processional crosses.

Re-evaluating the development and role of the General Chapter is important for the research questions posed by this thesis. The broad Cistercian identity reinforced by the regulations for liturgical poverty and spiritual isolation provided a framework for each monastery to interact with the surrounding world. These infractions and exemptions demonstrate the variety of lived experience in Cistercian abbeys in the twelfth century, even before the impact of incorporation on the cults celebrated is considered. This chapter has demonstrated that in many cases the Chapter was able to regulate variation; Jamroziak has argued there was 'no inherent tension between this flexibility and the maintenance of 'Cistercian standards', because this adaptability

[157] 1200 s. 17, p. 459. '*Commemorationes Sanctorum et Officia Defunctorum non fiant ab aliquibus domus praetor consuetudinem Ordinis, nisi per Generale Capitulum concessum esset; et sicubi alieter praesumptum fuerit, eadem die Conuentus sit in pane et aqua'*

was itself a part of the monastic ethos and practice'.[158] The General Chapter functioned as a forum for abbots representing different communities to discuss concerns. While the image of a Cistercian 'golden age' may have been exactly what the Order wanted to project in the twelfth century, and to an extent the image presented in the foundation documents through their exhortation to unanimity and adherence to the Rule, 'the primary goal of the General Chapter was not legislation but spiritual guidance'.[159] Flexibility to local concerns and the welfare of individual communities could be extended to devotional practice, despite Cistercian emphasis on liturgical uniformity.

[158] Jamroziak *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders*, p. 47.
[159] L. J. Lekai, 'Ideals and Reality in Early Cistercian Life and Legislation' in *The New Monastery: Texts and Studies on the Early Cistercians* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1998) pp. 219-236, p. 228.

Conclusion

Sacred matter prompted material concerns. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Cistercian Order found relics to be valuable as pegs for corporate traditions and internal storytelling, but less as attractions for pilgrimage. Indeed, relics were seen by some members of the Order as having limited value for their brethren, the utility of such objects more directed towards less advanced Christians. The Cistercians were not, however, divorced from their wider religious culture. In the tropes and rhetoric of their narrative documents and exclusive burial policies, the Order sought to create a distinctive Cistercian aesthetic relating to relics by seeking to restrict the presence of disruptive pilgrims.

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the development of Cistercian devotional practice in the context of the reworking of historical memory and formation of institutional identity in the first 150 years of the Order. In particular it sought to address the extent to which saints' cults were important to Cistercian devotion in the twelfth century, and the mechanisms by which the Cistercians attempted to manage their devotion to relics alongside clerical and lay expectations of access to their cults.

This thesis has demonstrated that throughout the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries the Cistercians developed a group identity in opposition to, and through interaction with, other monastic orders. This identity depended upon relic occlusion; both literal and physical as well as literary and rhetorical. The depiction of miracles in Cistercian texts was part of a strategy to discourage lay pilgrimage. This has been demonstrated to be consistent across the writing of individual Cistercians, hagiography, and exempla. Cistercian saints were presented differently to internal and external audiences. Cistercian practice was portrayed as distinctive in narrative and legislative documents, contributing to the image projected by the Order. The Cistercians highlighted points of difference in their attitudes and practices to their monastic

contemporaries. These differences were important to how the Order appealed to both patrons and recruits, as well as functioning as a tool for legitimation.

Previous scholarship has tended to look at the history of the Order from around 1098 to c.1250 in terms of a 'golden age' followed by a decline that was typified by an increased interest in the cult of saints. Research into Cistercian spirituality has tended to focus on specific authors or regions, leading to detailed pictures of individual cults or authors, but lacking an overall picture.[1] In contrast with the fragmentary studies previously offered, this thesis utilised a range of sources. These included the writings of twelfth-century Cistercians, letters, hagiography, exempla collections, and statutes. Studying this range of sources has enriched the picture of Cistercian life in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. By considering texts aimed at internal and external audiences this thesis has found a consistent message regarding the utility of and audience for cults in Cistercian precincts.

Throughout this thesis recurring themes have been noted. Chapter One argued that Bernard of Clairvaux valued relics and the cult of saints in particular circumstances. Relics were the first stage in an individual's personal development. Bernard distinguished between pilgrims, crusaders, and Templars, and between different orders of monks in his writing on the utility of sacred objects and places. The architectural setting for Bernard's cult was intrinsically connected to that of St Malachy, which had a similarly circumscribed audience.

Chapter Two noted the impact of different audiences on the presentation of cults, specifically Bernard's own posthumous cult at Clairvaux. In the canonisation documents 'Bernard the founder and politician' prevailed. The statutes relating to the cult show that prior

[1] For example, Lekai *The Cistercians, Ideal and Reality* (Kent, OK, 1977), Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1949), M. Cawley (trans. and ed.) *Send Me To God: The Lives of Ida the Compassionate of Nivelles, Nun of La Ramee, Arnulf, Lay Brother of Villers, and Abundus, Monk of Villers, by Goswin of Bossut* (Turnhout, 2003).

to papal canonisation in 1175, celebration of Bernard's Office for the Dead was limited to the Clarevallian filiation. The dissemination of the *vita* corroborates this earlier, more limited, celebration, in addition to displaying a changing image of Bernard through various redactions. In the miracle collections, Bernard is a reassuring figure who encourages individuals to appreciate the value in contemplation and manual labour. This is due to the interests of the audience, and the manner in which stories for such collections were gathered.

Chapter Three expanded this focus to consider Cistercian hagiography from the period more broadly. It was argued that these texts presented posthumous healing miracles and visions quite differently to those produced by Benedictine cult centres from the same period. This approach was shown to be consistent across works intended for Cistercian audiences and external patrons, and affected the hagiography of cults incorporated into the Order. With this wider corpus of texts it is possible to see how communities were constructed through storytelling.

Exempla collections created between c.1170 and c.1220 also allowed this thesis to consider the role of relics in cults intended for Cistercian communities, and their awareness of relics in cults with a primarily lay audience. In all three collections the majority of the miracle recipients are members of the order. The gradual widening of scope between the *LVMC* and *DM* helps to illuminate Cistercian self-perception, especially in relation to other groups. This range of exempla also allowed comparison of attitudes in different houses. These regional influences provide evidence for Cistercian diversity and the connections of monasteries with their local areas. These connections were also present in the hagiography composed for locally-venerated saints which reinterpreted their cults in a Cistercian context.

Chapter Five argued that the burial and commemoration of lay patrons can aid the examination of Cistercian attitudes towards relics by differentiating between whose remains

were, and were not, venerated. The treatment of monastic dead was linked to the evolving perspective on the same issue in the exempla collections. As strict adherents to the Rule, the Cistercians presented their prayers and intercessions as especially efficacious. The requests of lay patrons for *ad sanctos* burials indicate the external perceptions of Cistercian saints. Through the restrictive pilgrimage and burial regulations, the Order cultivated an aura of exclusivity that served to entice wealthy benefactors. The acquiescence to some burial requests demonstrates that the Cistercians not completely isolated from worldly concerns, though they were careful to limit these allowances to their most important patrons.

Finally, it was argued that the narrative documents and statutes from the General Chapter show a Cistercian aim for liturgical simplicity and restraint. The General Chapter functioned as a meeting place for consensual government that discussed shared concerns, but had limited powers of enforcement. There is evidence of local variation in practice. Subscription to the Cistercian identity described here was voluntary, and individual monastic houses had to react and adapt to local situations and concerns. This flexibility did not detract from the wider importance of claiming and proclaiming a Cistercian brand for those communities, who evidently benefited from its legitimising authority. The ideals evident in the statutes reflected Bernard of Clairvaux's views on simplicity and lack of ornament as outlined in his letters and treatises, and the twelfth and thirteenth-century hagiography and exempla collections discussed elsewhere in this thesis. In all of these documents a developing sense of consensus is evident, pointing to a shared Cistercian identity.

This thesis has implications for several ongoing discussions in Cistercian Studies. Bernard's posthumous cult was the subject of Bredero's study in 1996; this thesis benefited from his thorough research into the various authors and redactions of the *VP*.[2] My work has

[2] A. H., Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Edinburgh, 1996).

built upon this foundation, by placing Bernard of Clairvaux's writing in a wider twelfth-century context and considering the degree to which his views can be considered representative of the Order. This has allowed an exploration of the reception of Bernard's ideas about posthumous cults at Clairvaux, especially through the comparison of the management of his cult to that of St Malachy (instituted by Bernard). Combining different sources intended for diverse audiences demonstrated the distinct presentations of the saint to different audiences. Similarly, the holistic approach of this thesis, bringing together examples of Cistercian hagiography from different houses and benefiting from existing regional studies, has shown the extent to which these texts presented Cistercian cults as functioning differently to their Benedictine contemporaries.[3] While there has been a wealth of historiography devoted to individual exempla collections, less attention has been paid to the development of attitudes towards sacred objects over time in these texts as a group.[4]

This thesis also contributes to several broad discussions including the construction of historical narratives surrounding monastic foundations and the importance of relics to medieval piety. In the range of sources consulted, we have seen the Order's presentation of its own history. Re-evaluating the development and role of the General Chapter is important for the research questions posed by this thesis. The broad Cistercian identity reinforced by the regulations for liturgical poverty and spiritual isolation provided a framework for each monastery to interact with the surrounding world. The General Chapter functioned as a forum for abbots representing different communities to discuss concerns. The Chapter was more concerned with offering spiritual guidance than passing legislation. Flexibility to local

[3] For example, H. Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York, 2010).

[4] B. P., McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 37 (1980) pp. 167-247, 'Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 35 (1979) pp. 227-282, "Structure and Consciousness in the 'Exordium magnum cisterciense': The Clairvaux Cistercians after Bernard," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age grec et latin* 30, (1979) pp. 33-90. For a more general discussion, see S. Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution', *History Compass*, 8 (2010) pp. 903–912.

concerns and the welfare of individual communities could be extended to devotional practice, despite Cistercian emphasis on liturgical uniformity.

This study focused on the first 150 years of the Order's history. The sources were drawn from the centre of Cistercian Europe and supplemented by accounts from several more geographically peripheral houses. This focus was chosen to highlight the importance of relic-centred devotion in the early years of the Order, and demonstrate the strength of a developing Cistercian identity in both Burgundy and more remote houses. After 1250, several changes can be noted in the source material. The thirteenth century saw mysticism increasingly influence the production of hagiography. Additionally, the production of Cistercian exempla slowed. These factors contributed to the focus of this thesis.

This thesis has demonstrated that the presentation of the miraculous represents an underutilised source for the conceptualisation of Cistercian identity and spirituality in the twelfth century. The findings exemplify how the study of saints' cults can nuance Cistercian scholarship and wider research into the medieval miraculous. This presents fresh opportunities to explore the devotional practices of other twelfth-century reform groups. For instance, were the Cistercian patterns for presenting relic cults shared by the Carthusians, Premonstratensians, or Hospitallers? The *Libellus de diversis* placed the orders on a continuum from proximity to the world to the more isolated;[5] was this perspective reflected in each group's attitude to the role of saints' cults for their own communities and for outsiders? Answering this question would highlight any similarities and shared aims between the reform groups. This thesis has also raised wider questions about the place of abbatial saints in medieval monasteries. In the Cistercian contexts discussed here, abbatial saints seem to have a specific role for the community, as a focus for veneration and intercession. Abbots often appear in visions in the

[5] *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia* (ed.) G. Constable (Oxford, 1972).

exempla collections as an extension of the pastoral role they fulfilled during life. The degree to which this is a specifically Cistercian phenomenon could also be explored.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated the connections between Cistercian engagement with the cult of saints in the twelfth century and the development of the Order's corporate identity as a group distinct from the traditional monastic groups that had existed before. The portrayal of lay pilgrims aligned with the rhetoric of the monks' withdrawal and social isolation. The material concerns provoked by relic cults were promulgated through the Order's prescriptive texts, legislation, hagiography and exempla. In these texts we can see rhetoric at work creating and reinforcing identity, primarily through emphasising the differences with other monastic orders. This thesis has thus shown the benefits to be found in combining institutional sources with the vignettes from hagiography and exempla. Different types of sources have presented different perspectives on overarching themes, demonstrating the cohesive rhetoric used by the Order, if not its implementation in practice.

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